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Early Printing in the Straits Settlements 1806-1858
A Preliminary Inquiry

by

CECIL K. BYRD

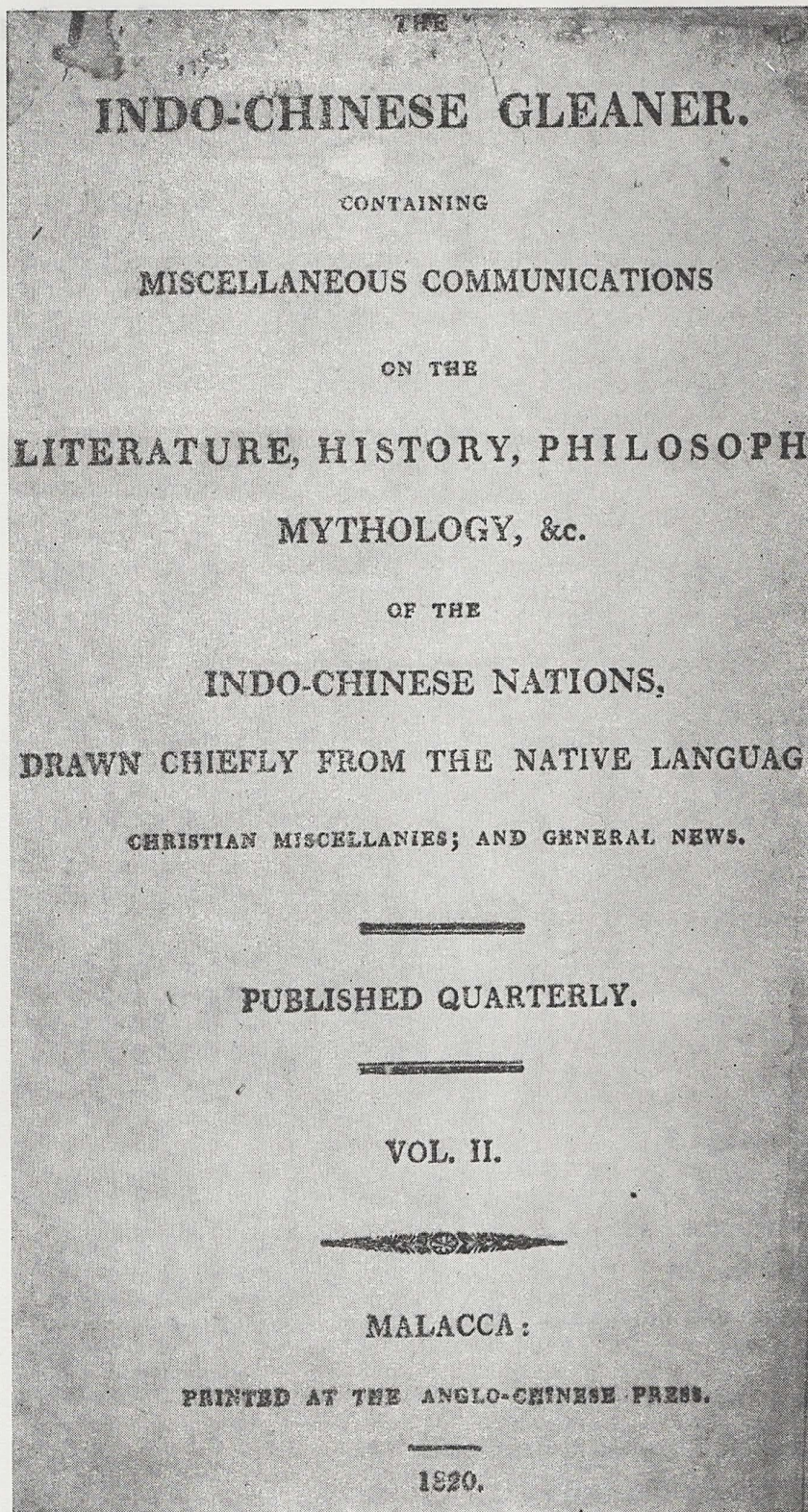
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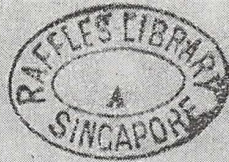


EARLY PRINTING IN THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS
1806 – 1858

By
CECIL K. BYRD

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1970





RETROSPECT
OF
THE FIRST TEN YEARS
OF THE
PROTESTANT MISSION
TO
CHINA,

(NOW, IN CONNECTION WITH THE MALAY, DENOMINATED,
THE ULTRA-GANGES MISSIONS.)

*Accompanied with Miscellaneous Remarks on the Li-
terature, History, and Mythology of China, &c.*

BY
WILLIAM MILNE.

MALACCA:
PRINTED AT THE ANGLO-CHINESE PRESS.

1820.

Appendix
TO THE
PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND
Annual Register & Directory,
FOR 1822.

~~~~~  
**GOVERNMENT CUSTOMS**

AND

*Land Revenue.*

—  
**Regulations.**

ARTICLE 1st. The Office of the Collector of Customs will be open for the transaction of business every day (Sundays and Holydays excepted) from 10 o'clock in the morning until 3 in the afternoon.

2nd. The arrival of all Vessels in the Port, is to be reported by the Master Attendant to the Collector of Customs, as soon after their arrival as practicable.



Export of Goods at Singapore, on the 31<sup>st</sup> May 1822

[illegible]



STATEMENT  
of  
RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS  
concerning the erection of  
THE MALAY CHAPEL.  
SINGAPORE, A. D. 1823.

---

ADDRESS.

Public worship is of divine institution, and the preaching of the everlasting gospel the chief means appointed by the great head of the Church for the conversion of Sinners; and therefore proper, if possible, to have a place exclusively appropriated for proclaiming "the glorious gospel of the blessed God".

In 1823 a favourable opportunity offering for obtaining the desired object a proposal for building a Chapel by Subscription was made, which met with the concurrence of the chief Authorities, & was furthered by their liberal contributions, as well as that of the principal European Inhabitants, then residing at Singapore, almost without exception; as may be seen by the annexed list of contributors.

It was at first proposed to have a wooden Building with a tiled Roof, but fearing that a Structure of such dimensions could not bear the weight of Tiles, it was deemed advisable to build it entirely of Brick.

Altho' the very liberal subscriptions were not adequate to defray the expence which would necessarily be incurred, yet a humble hope was cherished, that the divine providence, which had thus far favoured the design, would not suffer the undertaking to fail for want of sufficient means to accomplish it.

It was commenced on the second Wednesday of May 1823, being the first day of the anniversary-meeting of the friends of the L. M. Society in London.

The Chapel was opened for divine service on Sabbath June 27th, 1823, when a discourse was delivered in Malay to a large congregation & nearly all the principal European Inhabitants being present, from Acts chap 21. 14. thus I confess unto thee, that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers".

Since the opening of the Chapel two services have been performed every Sabbath for the use of a few Malays in their own language, and latterly, the place has been occupied for conducting the English service, *pro tempore*, as was at first proposed.

It was intended to have published this statement of Receipts and Disbursements immediately after the opening of the Chapel for divine worship; but unexpected circumstances have prevented its having been done until now, for which delay an apology is justly due.

Sincere thanks are hereby tendered to the Friends who have by their liberal contributions promoted the object—By balancing the Accts, the expenditure has exceeded the amount of subscriptions Dollars 1163. 18 lbs 8 pence. Covenants, Seats, Chairs, Locks, Lamps &c are not included in this statement, part of which has already been procured; the whole will amount to between 500 & 600 Dollars.

The aid of those who have not yet had an opportunity of contributing is respectfully solicited, to assist in liquidating the Debt—Any, the smallest, Donation will be thankfully received for that object by Revd R. Morrison D. D. China, Revd. James Hill, Calcutta—Revd. C. H. Thomsen, Singapore & in England by W. A. Hankey Esq. Treasurer to the L. M. Society.

The Chapel is under the management of Trustees who are at present being the Revd C. H. Thomsen, R. Morrison D. D., Jas. Hill, Esq. & D. Collie.





CHINESE CLASSICAL WORK

COMMONLY CALLED

THE

FOUR BOOKS;

TRANSLATED,

AND ILLUSTRATED WITH NOTES,

By THE LATE REV. DAVID COLLIE,

*Principal of the Anglo-Chinese College,*

MALACCA.

---

PRINTED AT THE MISSION PRESS.

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1828.



JOURNAL  
OF  
A TOUR  
ALONG THE COAST OF JAVA  
AND BALI &c.  
WITH A  
SHORT ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
*ISLAND OF BALI,*  
PARTICULARLY OF BALI BALILING.



PRINTED AT THE MISSION PRESS,  
for the use of the "Singapore Christian Union"  
for extending the benefits of Education and the  
knowledge of Christianity in Singapore and  
other parts of the Malayan Archipelago.

SINGAPORE.

1830





بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

چوترا حیکایت عیسی

برمول مک درید هولور . دبري تاهو الله اکن .  
کوتیکا دان تمقت دان حال کجادی عیسی اوله  
ببراق اورخ یغ بریقتی یغ دکرنیاکن الله مغانکن  
دهولو فرکارا یغ اکن جادی کمدين دان سبب ایت .  
ای دسبوت نبي مک شکل فرکارا یغداجر اوله شکل  
نبي قد کیت اکن عیسی ایت متنجوقن قد کیت  
ببراق بسر کهولیانن بهوا ایاله یغ ملقمکن مانیه  
دري حکم دوسا دان دري سيقسا نراک دان  
مهبوکا قنتو شرک باهي شکل اورخ یغ فرچاي  
اکندي .

مک جاديله عیسی ایت دبیتلحم سکیرا  
امقت ریبو تاهون کمدين درقد کجادی دنیا  
یاهیت قد کوتیکا دان تمقت یغترسبوة اوله ببراق  
نبي مقاي مانیه بوله دافت کنتوان بهوا ایاله  
عیسی المسيح یغ بنر مقرتی یغ دکناکن اوله  
ببراق نبي دان شکل تنده المسيح ایت کنتله



VOCABULARY  
OF THE  
ENGLISH, BUGIS, AND MALAY  
LANGUAGES,

CONTAINING ABOUT 2000 WORDS.

Q11.9/  
26

SINGAPORE:

PRINTED AT THE MISSION PRESS.

23 2.99+2M

201833.

(Price one Dollar)



THE

**"TWELVE TABLES;**

BEING

**THE INTER-EXCHANGE OF THE GOVERNMENT CURRENCY,**

**AT THE BRITISH SETTLEMENTS "**

**IN THE STRAITS OF MALACCA.**

---

**MALACCA:**

**PRINTED AT THE MISSION PRESS.**

**1833.**

*N. B.—Any Profits realized on the sale of this Compilation, will be  
appropriated to the benefit of Native Education.*

Q11  
475



# NOTICES

OF THE

## INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO,

AND ADJACENT COUNTRIES;

BEING A COLLECTION OF PAPERS RELATING TO BORNEO,  
SELEBES, SALL, JAVA, SUMATRA, NIAN, THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, SULUS,  
SIAM, COCHIN CHINA, MALAYAN PENINSULA, &c.

ACCOMPANIED BY AN INDEX AND SIX MAPS, VIZ.

1. THE TOWN AND SUBURBS OF SINGAPORE. 2. THE INDIAN  
ARCHIPELAGO, INCLUDING SIAM AND COCHIN-CHINA. 3. RIVER COTI IN BORNEO. 4. MALACCA AND  
PANING. 5. CHART OF SINGAPORE STRAIT &c. 6. PENANG AND PROVINCE WELLESLEY.

BY J. H. MOOR,

For some time Editor of the Malacca Observer, Singapore Chronicle,  
and Singapore Free Press.

Part First.

PRICE, TO SUBSCRIBERS 3 DRS. TO NON-SUBSCRIBERS 6 DRS.

SINGAPORE:

1837.



VOL. IV.

THE

No. VII.

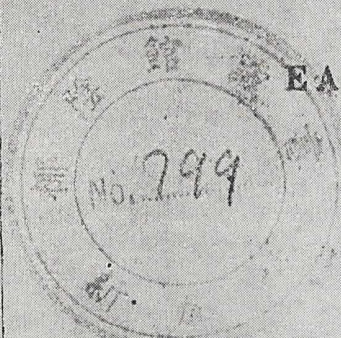
# JOURNAL

OF

## THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO

AND

## EASTERN ASIA.



Edited by

J. R. LOGAN F. G. S.

Member of the Asiatic Society, Corresponding Member of the Ethnological Society of London, and of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences.

JULY, 1850.

*\* \* It is requested that communications may be addressed to the Editor at Singapore.*

SINGAPORE:

PRINTED FOR THE EDITOR BY G. M. FREDERICK.

\* \* Orders and Subscriptions will be received in SINGAPORE, by Messrs LITTLE, CURSETJEE & Co.; MALACCA, by Messrs L. NEUBRONNER & Co.; PINANG, by G. H. SMITH, Esq.; HONGKONG, by JOHN CARR, Esq.; BATAVIA, by Messrs LANGE & Co.; CALCUTTA, by Messrs W. THACKER & Co.; MADRAS, by Messrs PHAROAH & Co. LONDON, by Mr J. M. RICHARDSON, Bookseller, 23 Cornhill.

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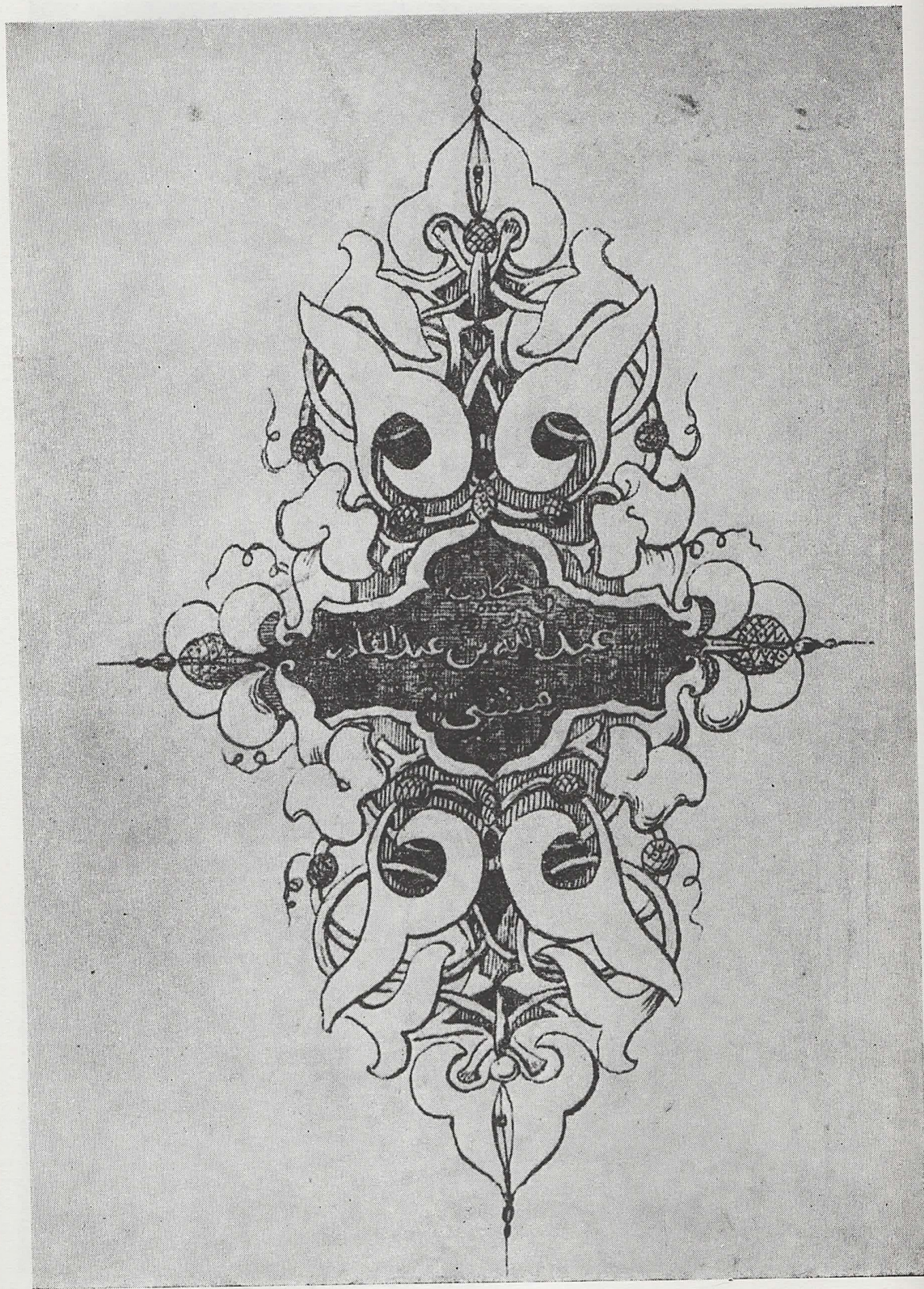


Plate 13



## INTRODUCTION

This investigation of early printing at Penang, Malacca and Singapore is captioned, by necessity, preliminary. It is a beginning exploration of an important topic, done over a period of a few weeks, which will, hopefully, be fully studied in the future.

A thorough exploration of the beginnings of printing in the three settlements would involve a search of the British Museum, the India Office Library, London, extant archives of the London Missionary Society, London, as well as those of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Houghton Library, Harvard, and those British and American libraries which are known to specialize in Southeast Asian affairs. The present checklist of early imprints, therefore, is limited to the examples of early printing which have survived in the National Library, Singapore, the University of Singapore, the Penang Public Library, and the Malaysian Collection at the University of Malaya.

Records of the East India Company in the National Archives, Singapore; newspapers of the period; accounts of missionaries and laymen who participated in the affairs of the Straits Settlements, insofar as they are available in Singapore repositories, have all been used. It should be recorded, however, that more extant examples of early Straits Settlements imprints probably exist overseas than in the former settlements themselves.

During the period under review, 1806-1858, the administrative structure of the three settlements underwent changes as the East India Company sought a viable format. Penang was given Presidency status (the Eastern Presidency) in 1805, thereby making it equal with Bengal, Madras and Bombay, the other three Presidencies. Singapore was independent of Penang until 1826. Because of Raffles, Singapore was a dependency of Bencoolen, 1819-1823. From 1823-1826, it was under the direct supervision of the Governor-General of India. Malacca, in and out of the British pale, was a dependency until 1826. In that year, both Malacca and Singapore were combined with Penang as a single Presidency. In 1830, the Eastern Presidency was abolished, and the Straits Settlements became a Residency under the Governor and Council of Bengal. In 1832, the capital of the Straits was shifted from Penang to Singapore. In 1851, the administration of the Straits Settlements was transferred from Bengal to the Governor-General of India.

While officials in the Straits might act with a minor degree of latitude in matters relating to the press, the rules ultimately derived from India. The decorum of the press in the Straits Settlements was a frequent topic of discussion in the two-way official correspondence between the Straits and India. The attitude of the East India Company toward the press both in India and in the Straits, until the press was made reasonably free by Governor-General Charles Metcalfe in 1835, was one of almost consistent hostility, suspicion and fear. Regulations sometimes stringent, sometimes less harsh, were formulated for the guidance of editors and printers. Violations or carping at government could and did lead to suppression of the press and deportation of the offender from the colony.



Company officials in the Straits Settlements were not always cognizant of press regulations in India nor of their applicability to publishing in the Straits Settlements. Even after promulgation of the comprehensive "A Rule Ordinance and Regulation for preventing the mischiefs arising from the printing and publishing Newspapers and Periodicals, Books and Papers of a like nature . . ." in 1825, which clearly outlined procedure and conduct for the press in India, officials in the three settlements were not certain as to the application of these rules in the Straits. The nearest approach to a uniform policy of conduct consisted of a brief and somewhat modified version of the Bengal rules formulated by the Governor in Council at Penang, published in the *Singapore Chronicle* 20 February 1827:

Matters prohibited to be inserted in newspapers.

First. Animadversions on the measures and proceedings of the Honourable the Court of Directors, or other public authorities in England connected with the Government of India; or disquisitions on political transactions of the local administration, or offensive remarks levelled at the public conduct of the Members of the Council, or the Judges of the Supreme Court, at any of the Presidencies in India, of the Recorder of Prince of Wales Island, or of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

Second. Discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the Native population or any intended interference with their religious opinions or observations, also all controversial discussions on points of religion.

Third. The republication from English or other newspapers of passages coming under any of the above heads, or otherwise calculated to affect the British power or reputation in India.

Fourth. Private scandal and personal remarks on individuals having a tendency to excite dissension in Society.

As will be seen, the newspapers which were suppressed or closed through government intervention were stilled for violating one or more of the above four prohibitions.

Printing began on Prince of Wales Island (Penang) in 1806; at Malacca in 1815; and at Singapore during the year 1822. Circumstances which led to a printing establishment in Penang were strictly commercial, while initial printing at Malacca and Singapore represented but one activity of a broad missionary programme conducted by agents of the London Missionary Society.

The first press at Penang was a business venture to meet the needs of commerce and government, and was, insofar as surviving imprints reveal, restricted to English language publications. The missionary presses at Malacca, Penang and Singapore apparently printed more in Chinese and Malay than in English. The presence of the missionary presses in Singapore and Malacca made publication possible of the first newspapers in the two settlements: the *Singapore Chronicle*, printed at the Mission Press for the first six years; and the *Malacca Observer*, printed on the Anglo-Chinese Press during its brief existence.

Although the mission presses were active as diversified publishers, they made slight permanent impact on the development of printing and publishing in the Straits Settlements. All, excepting the Mission Press in Singapore, removed to Hong Kong in 1846 when China was made more receptive to missionary activity following the Nanking Treaty, 1842, ending the Anglo-Chinese War.



## PRINTING IN PENANG

The first printing press in Penang was established in 1806 by A. B. Bone, with the assistance of unrevealed financial backers. A weekly newspaper by Bone and "other proprietors" entitled *The Government Gazette* was published, dated March 1, 1806. On June 7, 1806, the title became *Prince of Wales Island Government Gazette*; in the October 17, 1807 issue, the word *Government* was dropped from the masthead and the paper was published, under various owners, as the *Prince of Wales Island Gazette* until publication ceased in August, 1827.<sup>2</sup>

Bone, one of the unsung pioneers of early journalism in the Straits Settlements, has escaped the attention of historians. Little is known about him, — indeed, it has been impossible to ascertain his given names. Advertisements in his newspaper record that he was a commission merchant and auctioneer in partnership with T. W. Court. The firm, Court and Bone, sold a general line of merchandise as well as books, sheet music, wines, spirits, and occasionally ladies' accessories. The auctioneering business sold lands, properties, and personal effects at public auction. In December, 1810, the partnership was dissolved but Bone continued working as an auctioneer and also ran the printshop.<sup>3</sup>

Permission had been granted Bone to establish a press and publish a newspaper "under certain conditions, and . . . we grant him our licence for the purpose," by East India Company officials in January, 1806.<sup>4</sup> The "certain conditions" were not revealed but were probably similar to the restrictions enjoined on other Straits newspapers until 1835: no gossip, no criticism of government, individuals or policies, and a submission of proof sheets before final publication.

Whether or not Bone was given a monthly subsidy by the government (as was the practice with the paper under William Cox and the two later published Straits papers, *Singapore Chronicle* and *Malacca Observer*) is not known. The newspaper printed the official announcements of the Penang Presidency which, on more than one occasion, occupied a considerable portion of the total space. It may be surmised that government either paid for these at the going rate, or granted a monthly subsidy to the paper in return for their insertion.

On August 1, 1811, the Government Council at Penang acted favourably on Bone's request for a loan of twenty-five hundred (Spanish) dollars. As collateral, the Government held a mortgage in "the amount of two thirds of the whole press concern," the amount to be repaid in ten months.<sup>5</sup> The issue of the paper for September 14, 1811, designated Bone as "sole proprietor." In November 1814, Bone requested another loan from the Government of two hundred (Spanish) dollars, offering to repay the amount in job printing.<sup>6</sup>

Bone died suddenly in April, 1815. The last number of the paper to bear his imprint was April 22, 1815. Journalism was not a lucrative profession for Bone; his family was left in destitute circumstances. A public appeal was made for funds to assist the widow and children.<sup>7</sup>

The press and newspaper which Bone and his anonymous financial backers established in 1806 continued until August, 1827, under at least two owners, — first, B. C. Henderson and then William Cox. In February, 1820, Cox began publishing two issues a week and for about four months (May–August, 1821) he published daily issues Monday through Saturday. A poll of his subscribers revealed that they preferred the bi-weekly issue and he reverted to that frequency.

Cox had financial problems as well as difficulty with the Government over the nature of some of his reporting. In February, 1820, he requested financial assistance and the Government replied: "The Governor in Council is sensible of the advantages which the public derives from the Press and is therefore anxious to afford it reasonable assistance." A sixty dollar monthly subsidy was granted "... provided the first page of the Gazette be in future considered as free for the insertion of any advertisements or papers which the Government may be desirous to print in the Gazette or which may be sent for that purpose by any of the public authorities of the Island."<sup>8</sup>



All Straits Settlements newspaper publishers had censorship problems with East India Company officials, until 1835, and Cox was no exception. Both in India and in the Straits Settlements, the Company was super-sensitive to any form of criticism relating to its policies or its officials; it could censor material inserted or suppress a newspaper. This was done with the *Penang Register and Miscellany* and the *Malacca Observer*. Cox was in hot water on several occasions; first, in 1825, for editorializing on a government announcement inserted in the paper in April; in September, 1826, for commenting humorously about two government officials; and for a critical statement on Burney's mission to Siam.<sup>9</sup> In spite of his running quarrel with government officials, from the evidence available it must be concluded that the *Prince of Wales Island Gazette* ceased publication not from government pressure but due to financial exigencies.

The press and equipment of the *Gazette* was acquired for a second newspaper venture on the island: *The Penang Register and Miscellany*. Publication began as a weekly on August 22, 1827, just eight days after the last number of the *Gazette*. The proprietor was Norman MacIister McIntyre, who announced himself as the printer and publisher. McIntyre was simultaneously a clerk in the land office of the Company. William Balhetchet, who had been at one time secretary to the Naval Commander-in-Chief and was also a merchant and agent at Penang, became the editor. Balhetchet was restive under government-imposed censorship and McIntyre must have condoned his editorial policy. Apparently some enmity existed between Balhetchet and John Anderson, who acted in the capacity of official government censor. Anderson resented having proof sheets sent to his home late in the evening with a request that they be returned the same evening. He further objected to an editorial comment on the grand jury then convened and so informed Balhetchet. The editor published Anderson's letter in the issue of December 12, 1827.

Commenting in the September 10, 1828 number on the arrival of the government press equipment from India, Balhetchet announced that the owner was willing to sell the press and equipment. The suggestion was made that shares be purchased by interested people and a press free of censorship be established. Proofs of the last number of the paper, September 17, 1828, contained an editorial criticizing the government for dismissing a Company employee of long service. Anderson ordered this expunged. The editor obliged, but printed the issue of the paper with about one and one-half columns blank. The censored material was then printed in the form of a hand-bill and circulated.

Reaction of government to this breach of censorship was swift. On September 20, just three days after the offence, the licence of McIntyre to print a newspaper was cancelled and he was dismissed from his clerkship in the land office. Word was sent to all government officials that his printshop should not be patronized for any government jobs. Balhetchet, who had been granted a licence to reside at Penang in November, 1821, had his permission revoked "to reside at any of the three settlements" and was given two months to quit the Straits.<sup>10</sup>

McIntyre was dismissed but apparently landed on his feet. In the December 6, 1828 number of *The Government Gazette, Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca*, it was announced that he was admitted as a partner in the firm of Balhetchet and Company. William Balhetchet must have had a reprieve or an extension of his departure date. He appeared as a plaintiff in a case before the Court of Judicature in January, 1829.

It would be interesting to know with certainty whether the actions of Balhetchet and McIntyre represented a fight for a freer press. Their actions may have been motivated by the impending competition from the Government Press. The comment in the September 10, 1828 number of their paper on the arrival of the Government Press may have some bearing on the actions of September 17. "We do not know whether it be intended to publish a government newspaper, but as possession of a press precludes the possibility of again employing that of our Printer for any public work, which formerly averaging about 150 Drs. a month, was the chief support of our printing establishment here . . ." Faced with the loss of revenue and perhaps an idle press, the owner and editor may have decided to go down in protest against the overweening arrogance of the East India Company.



## THE MISSIONARY PRESS AT PENANG

Agents of the London Missionary Society from the station at Malacca brought the second press to Penang. (Fuller discussion of missionary printing activity appears under the treatment of early printing in Malacca.) Thomas Beighton and John Ince arrived in Penang early in April, 1819, to begin missionary work, — Beighton with the Malays and Ince with the Chinese. They were joined by Walter Henry Medhurst about the middle of the year 1820. Medhurst had brought printing equipment with him; he wrote the Governor at Penang on September 25, 1820, requesting a grant of land for the mission station and for permission to set up a printing establishment. Land was granted and "With respect to a printing press the Governor in Council desires me to state that he has no objection to your making use of that which you have brought for the purpose of the Mission although there is already on the Island a Press Establishment authorized and patronized by the Government. The printing work required by Govt. will continue as before to be executed thru that medium."<sup>11</sup>

The press and equipment which Medhurst brought to Penang was his private property, gift of a friend in Canton. Ince and Beighton were at first delighted with the prospect of "... printing some things which the Mission has been hitherto in great measure destitute, viz., elementary books in English and Malay and English and Chinese." Later, when Medhurst ordered additional type from Calcutta, they had reservations about obligating the London Missionary Society for this purchase.<sup>12</sup> It would appear that Medhurst took the press and equipment with him when he departed for his station in Batavia in 1821.

Some years later a small press and Malay type were procured. Malay tracts for distribution in Penang were obtained from the Mission Press in Singapore through 1833.<sup>13</sup> Chinese tracts came from Malacca. Beginning in 1834, Beighton and Dyer began producing materials in Malay and Chinese for use of the Penang mission.

Medhurst, in his account of activities, included a list of the material published at Penang, for the years 1834–1836 only, — his book was published in 1837. For 1834 he recorded three titles printed in Malay: *Poems* by a Native (2,000 copies), *Catechism* by Beighton (1,500 copies), and a collection of *Hymns* (1,500 copies). During 1836 the above titles were reprinted along with eleven new titles (six in Malay and five in Chinese). The yearly total was 30,900. For 1836, *Poems* was again reprinted and five new titles in Malay also, with a total of 8,000 copies.

Beighton's report to the Directors of the Society for the year ending September, 1835, varies somewhat from Medhurst's in the number of copies printed in 1835. He reported the following Malay titles: *Malay Hymns* (1,500); *John Knier* (1,000); *Religion of the Bible* (1,500); *Fourth Commandment* (1,500); *Ten Commandments* (2,000); *Beatitudes* (2,000); *Believe on the Lord Jesus* (1,000); *Scripture Lessons* (3,500); *Easy Lessons* (2,000); *First Lessons for Schools* (7,000); *Matthew* (Chapters 6 and 7, 1,200).<sup>14</sup>

Samuel Dyer, who was attached to the mission station in Penang from 1827–1835, was probably the first to introduce the art of Chinese type-founding in the Straits Settlements. There seems nothing in Dyer's background to prepare him for this exacting art. Born at the Royal Hospital at Greenwich in 1804, he had attended a boarding school at Woolwich, studied law, and attended Cambridge University for a period. In 1824, he offered his services to the London Missionary Society and attended the missionary seminary at Gosport. He was ordained by the Society February 20, 1827, and sailed with his bride on March 10 that year for Malacca. He reached Penang on August 8, and there he found his services so needed that he remained instead of proceeding on to Malacca. He began immediately the study of Chinese, worked with the schools, and began experimenting with type-founding of Chinese characters.<sup>15</sup>

Until Dyer's movable Chinese type fonts were available, practically all the Chinese printing performed by the mission presses at Malacca and Singapore had been xylographic (from wooden blocks). Movable Chinese types cast at the College of St. Joseph in Macao were brought down to Malacca soon after the mission was established. A total of approximately ten thousand characters were available, but William Milne, founder of the mission there, reported "the number of types is so small that we have not been able yet to make them bear on any purpose of much practical



utility. Columns of common news have been now and then attached to the Chinese Magazine, with them and last year (1818) a small Catechism was printed with them; they are also occasionally very convenient when wanted in any English work, e.g. the Indo-Chinese Gleaner in which Chinese quotations are sometimes given."<sup>16</sup>

Dyer's type-founding activities did not represent a technological revolution. Casting type from matrices struck from steel punches was an invention of Gutenberg in the middle of the fifteenth century. The Chinese were using movable cast type as early as the tenth century, although these were not cast from matrices struck from a punch. Dyer's method was to produce Chinese type by casting in moulds from matrices struck from steel punches, so that they could be used and re-used and permit rapid alteration of text in the printing stage. While all this was possible with traditional xylographic printing, it was expensive; movable type held the promise of economy in printing Chinese.<sup>17</sup>

Medhurst is the chief printed source available for information on Dyer's early activity in type-founding. He reported that Dyer was engaged in casting three or four complete "founts of moveable metallic types for the various missionary stations in the east." Under Dyer's supervision, the punches were engraved by Chinese workmen at a labour cost of about two shillings and ten pence each. When Medhurst wrote (1837), about three thousand punches had been engraved. "They are cast on two-line pica, and will, of course, occupy much room."<sup>18</sup> Dyer had published at Malacca in 1834 what might be called a specimen book: *A selection of three thousand characters being the most important in the Chinese language. For the purpose of facilitating the cutting of Punches and casting metal type in Chinese*, a pamphlet of 32 pages. Unfortunately no recorded copies of this survive.

Work on type-founding was continued by Dyer both in Penang and at Malacca following his move there in 1837. He died in Macao en route to Singapore on October 21, 1843. Alexander Wylie, who served as superintendent of the London Missionary Society Press in Shanghai from 1847-1864, paid a fitting tribute to Dyer as a type-founder: "By the combination of native labour with European art, he succeeded in bringing out a font of unsurpassed elegance, and at quite a practicable cost."<sup>19</sup> Following the death of Dyer, Alexander Stronach, who came to Singapore from Malacca in 1844, continued the work of type-founding initiated by Dyer. The Dyer punches were taken to Hong Kong by Stronach when he departed Singapore in 1846.

#### THE EAST INDIA COMPANY PRESS

Whenever commercial or political circumstance dictated, the East India Company went to the expense of establishing its own press. If John Anderson, Secretary to Government in Penang, can be accepted, the unruly newspaper press in Penang led to the establishment of the first government press in the Straits Settlements. On May 4, 1829, he wrote:

"It will be remembered that the establishment of the Government Press here arose, from circumstances distinct entirely from financial considerations. This Government has always exercised a controlling power over the Press and it seems to be the wish and desire of the Honourable Court [India] that we should continue the practice, but we have no legal sanction for the exercise of that power. The power hitherto has been maintained only from the circumstances of the society here which cannot afford to support a press without the aid derived from profit on public printing, but even that consideration has not prevented the insertion of very improper matter in a paper so dependent . . . It appears to me most certain that unless the Government Gazette be under the direction and supervision of an officer of Government there never can be any security against the insertion of improper Matter. Such is the general spirit of opposition displayed against the long-established constitution of Indian Government . . ."<sup>20</sup>

Some seventeen months before Anderson wrote the above account of the establishment of the government press, a request under Anderson's hand as secretary, dated December 18, 1827, had been made to the authorities at Fort William in India for a press and workmen to operate it. A press at Penang was justified because of the existing ". . . inferior Press, and the increasing demands for printing forms &c for the several public Departments and the Court . . ." as well as the high cost the commercial press charged for printing for the Government.<sup>21</sup>



For a combination of reasons, then, the Government established its own press at Penang. The press, types, and other equipment, with one compositor and three press operators, arrived from India aboard the Company ship "Reliance" in early September, 1828. It was in operation by October of that year.

From various reports of Robert Murcott, Captain in the Army at the time who was appointed superintendent of the Government press, the capital cost, income, and operating expense of the press is known. For the English and Siamese type, type-cases and press sent out from Bengal, the cost was 5520.6 Sicca Rupees. The Penang Government purchased the press and equipment of the suppressed *Penang Register and Miscellany* for a price of 7893.12 Sicca Rupees.<sup>22</sup> For the first six months of operation, — October, 1828 to April, 1829 — Murcott reported that private printing in the amount of 2194 Sicca Rupees was recorded. Public printing for the same period amounted to 4988 Sicca Rupees.<sup>23</sup> In May, 1829, the press employed seven compositors, six pressmen, a carpenter, a bookkeeper, a copying clerk, and three peons. The head compositor received 90 Sicca Rupees per month, the other compositors 42 or 30; pressmen received 20, 12.9 and 10.3 Rupees per month.<sup>24</sup>

A weekly, *The Government Gazette Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca*, was published beginning October 25, 1828. The paper contained, naturally, Government announcements (sometimes translated and printed in Jawi), news items from India and Europe, local news, prices current, and many reprinted selections from English literary works. Identification of the editor was not revealed in the paper itself, but it is thought that the superintendent of the press, Robert Murcott, was the editor. The last number of the paper, Volume 3, Number 89, July 3, 1830, contained a farewell signed 'the editor': "We beg to announce to Subscribers the termination of this Journal. Accident rather than choice led us to assume a character which previous experience had little qualified us to discharge with ability."

In addition to *The Government Gazette*, the press printed an annual directory, job printing for the commercial sector, and met all Government printing requirements. In May, 1829, the Resident Councillors at Singapore and Malacca were informed that all public printing would thereafter be done by the Government Press in Penang.

Economy measures instigated for the Straits Settlements by the Court of Directors from Bengal in 1829-30 led to the closing of the first Government Press in the Straits. The same move also changed the administrative structure for the three settlements. The Presidency was abolished, replaced by a Residency, and the number of Company servants in the three settlements was reduced by approximately sixty per cent. By September, 1830, Murcott announced the press establishment was closed. Insofar as can be determined, at least part of the press equipment was shipped back to India.<sup>25</sup> No further government publication was attempted in the Straits until January, 1858. At the beginning of that year, the *Straits Government Gazette* was published on the Mission Press in Singapore.

#### RE-EMERGENCE OF *Prince of Wales Island Gazette*

On July 20, 1833, William Cox (printer and publisher) issued Volume One, Number One of the *Prince of Wales Island Gazette*. While this paper bore the title of the first paper in Penang, it is apparent that it represented a new venture under an old heading. Whether Cox was using newly imported printing equipment or equipment purchased from the Government when it ceased its printing operations has not been ascertained. Cox had made an offer to the Government in July, 1830, of one thousand Spanish dollars for a part of the Government printing equipment, but with what response is not known.<sup>26</sup>

Cox's second venture into journalism in Penang continued until sometime early in 1838. On April 7, 1838, the first number of the *Pinang Gazette & Straits Chronicle* was published. In this number, it was announced that Cox's paper had been taken over and the title altered. It was also announced that the press, materials, and type of the defunct *Singapore Chronicle* were shipped to Penang to be used in the new newspaper venture.



Initially there were apparently four shareholders of the *Pinang Gazette & Straits Chronicle*: James Fairlie Carney, formerly of the *Singapore Chronicle*, Norman M. McIntyre, John Revely, and George Scott. However, ownership changed early in the new paper's history. It survived all financial problems and is still published as one of the papers of the Straits Echo Press.

The early presses at Penang, excluding the missionary press, were primarily and foremost employed in the printing of newspapers and secondarily in job printing for the Government and mercantile community. From a quick scanning of the extant files of the papers, it may be concluded that if books or pamphlets in great numbers were printed on the newspaper presses, these were not advertised in the columns of the newspapers, contrary to prevailing practices. All the imprints recorded in the appended checklist from commercial presses and from the Government Press are in English, although it is known that the Government Press purchased "Malayan types" from McIntyre and brought in Siamese types from Bengal.<sup>27</sup> The few pamphlets and booklets from the Penang Mission Press are all in the Jawi script.



## PRINTING IN MALACCA

Printing began in Malacca in 1815 at the missionary station established by agents of the London Missionary Society. Historical accident rather than design led the missionaries to the Straits Settlements. The primary focus of the Society was China. As a representative of the first Protestant organization to attempt missionary activities there, Robert Morrison was sent out in 1807. He was joined by William Milne in 1813. Political conditions in China were not, however, favourable for Protestant missionary efforts since agents were confined to Canton and Macao; preaching was not openly permitted; publishing of Christian literature was hampered; finally an Imperial Decree of 1812 made it illegal. A further inhibiting factor was the attitude of the hostile and jealous Portuguese Roman Catholic missions.

A location where the Chinese language could be studied and used, where missionary work could proceed in relative freedom until conditions in China were more sanguine, was considered advisable. Malacca was selected as a temporary site for an oblique approach to proselyting in China. The settlement possessed the necessary pre-requisites for an ideal station. Geographically, it could be regarded as a halfway house between India and Canton on a convenient water route. There were no political restrictions on missionary activities and the large overseas Chinese population resident there would facilitate learning and use of the language. Hopefully some of the Chinese could be converted and would then assist with missionary work in China when conditions there would permit full-scale activities. Work with the indigenous Malay population was anticipated but was of secondary importance. The temporary stay in the Straits Settlements of the London Missionary Society agents bound for China lasted from 1815 to 1846.

William Milne arrived in Malacca on May 22, 1815, to begin the work of this so-called Ultra-Ganges Mission. He brought with him from Canton, according to his own account, Chinese books, printing paper, a teacher for the Chinese language, and workmen.<sup>28</sup> The latter were skilled in the art of wood engraving and xylographic printing. Through the succeeding years Milne was joined by a large number of missionaries, most of whom specialized in Chinese; a few studied Malay and worked with the Malay population. Shortly after his arrival Milne secured permission from the Penang Government to reside in Malacca, was given a grant of land for the mission, and obtained permission to establish a printing press.<sup>29</sup>

The methodology of missionary labour at Malacca did not essentially vary from methods employed since the beginning of foreign missionary enterprises: teaching, preaching, and evangelizing through the dissemination of Christian literature translated into Chinese and Malay. Schools for both Chinese and Malay were conducted; preaching and persuasion were undertaken as soon as the fundamentals of the languages could be learned; printing presses produced a great variety of reading materials for the education, enlightenment and eventual conversion of the people to Christianity.

The Anglo-Chinese Press (as the imprint on the title page of its publications sometimes read) at Malacca became quite an extensive establishment turning out books, pamphlets, and periodicals in English, Chinese and Malay apparently with equal facility. The first printing was in the Chinese language and was, insofar as extant publications reveal, a periodical: *Chinese Monthly Magazine* (*Ch'ai shih su mei yueh t'ung chi ch'uan*) published in August, 1815, — less than three months after the arrival of Milne.

Mention was earlier made of workmen accompanying Milne from Canton. These were unquestionably skilled craftsmen for performing the many exacting operations connected with the art of printing from engraved wooden blocks. One of these was named Liang A-fah, or Liang Kung-fa as rendered by the missionaries, the first known Chinese printer in the Straits Settlements. Liang A-fah was born near Canton in 1789 and had learned the art of wood block engraving in



Canton. Between 1815 and 1843, he worked with the mission presses both at Malacca and Singapore, interrupting his stay several times to return to China. According to missionary accounts, he died in China in 1855.<sup>30</sup>

The bulk of the Chinese language publications from the Anglo-Chinese Press from 1815 to 1842 were xylographically produced. This method of making multiple copies had been employed in China for centuries, and consisted of the following steps: fine-grained wood blocks, hard and oily, were prepared from the *li* or *tao* tree in China. The block was squared to the desired page size, planed on both sides, and covered with a glutinous substance which was usually rice paste. A sheet containing the copy to be printed was then placed on the block and the characters were transferred to the glutinous substance covering the block. The block, with its pattern of characters, was then cut or engraved by the wood-cutter, the printing surface standing out in relief when the work was completed. Impressions, normally a single sheet at a time, were obtained by inking the block, placing the paper thereon, and gently rubbing it with a soft brush made of hair to obtain the transfer.

Although each stage in xylographic printing was a specialization of separate craftsmen, Milne reported that the first person employed as a Chinese printer at Malacca could perform all these operations himself. Milne also reported that a good craftsman could cut approximately one hundred and fifty Chinese characters per day. The number of impressions made from a block would vary with the care of the printer. At Malacca some blocks had given ten thousand impressions, and it was thought were good for another ten thousand. Initially, all the Chinese employed in xylographic printing were brought from China. The mission had to pay these employees about double the wages they could obtain in China.<sup>31</sup>

A printing press with both English and Malay types, other printing equipment, and six craftsmen arrived in Malacca from Bengal in November, 1816. Milne was distressed that six workmen instead of two, who were anticipated, had arrived. To profitably occupy their time, they were employed in reprinting Bogue's *Essay on the New Testament* (250 copies), Doddridge's *Rise and Progress* (250 copies), *History of Cornelius* (100 copies), and an *English Spelling Book* (600 copies). These were, as Milne phrased it, for the benefit of the European community in the Straits Settlements, and represented the first publications in English from the Anglo-Chinese Press.<sup>32</sup>

The printing establishment was extensive enough to require a superintendent. The first to assume this responsibility was Walter Henry Medhurst, who arrived in Malacca in June, 1817. In 1820, George H. Huttman assumed the responsibility when Medhurst was ordained a minister and departed for Penang. Both men were practical printers. Huttman was a layman and had difficulties with the missionaries for which he was dismissed in 1822. From that time onward, the press had missionary supervision.

Munshi Abdullah, who was employed as a teacher of Malay by several of the missionaries, has left his description of employment in the printing establishment at Malacca:

Then Mr. Medhurst taught me how to arrange the letters, how to hold the block and how to set the pages so that the printed sheets could be folded properly one after the other. After three or four months of practice in all these steps I could do the work on my own without his assistance. As time went on I became more and more conversant with the technique of printing, and knew how to avoid slips when operating the press itself or in setting the type, or in using too much or too little ink.<sup>33</sup>

Abdullah also wrote that he cast Malay types from punches made in Malacca and also learned to cut punches. In an emergency situation in Singapore he also "sat making types."<sup>34</sup> The first Malay publication from the press, according to Abdullah, was the *Ten Commandments*. The second work was a *Malay-English vocabulary*.<sup>35</sup> In his list of Malay books, Milne confirmed Munshi Abdullah on the first Malay publication. He recorded two impressions of the *Ten Commandments*, a pamphlet of eight leaves, in 1817 (300 copies in each impression), but he lists Dr. Watt's *Second Catechism* (8 leaves, 100 copies) as the only other Malay publication in 1817.<sup>36</sup>

Commercial printing was contemplated by the founders of the Malacca Mission: "We suggest that, if any profitable employment for the Press should be offered, it be taken into due consideration at Malacca, and accepted, or not, accordingly."<sup>37</sup> Commercial printing was done and the printing of the *Malacca Observer* (September, 1826, to October, 1829) on the Anglo-Chinese Press threatened to bring the mission into an unfavourable relationship with Government.



The main facts relating to the brief history of the *Malacca Observer* are that John Henry Moor, master of the Free School at Malacca, had requested permission of the Resident Councillor on August 21, 1826, for a licence to publish a newspaper. In his application, Moor mentioned that he had already printed and circulated a prospectus and had received encouraging replies from "... upwards of fifty gentlemen in Malacca, Singapore and Penang ... to my will and knowledge nothing shall be inserted therein, which shall in any way tend to defame or injure the interest of the government of the Honble East India Company, or His Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland." On August 30, 1826, Moor requested a government subsidy of fifty Sicca Rupees per month. A licence to print and the subsidy was granted; in return, Moor gave free space for government announcements and supplied the Resident Councillor with free copies of the weekly publication.<sup>38</sup> Moor was enjoined to follow the same rules of conduct enforced on the *Singapore Chronicle*.

No recorded file of Moor's weekly newspaper is known to exist. The imbroglio with government which led to the demise of the paper in October, 1829, as pieced together from the manuscript records of the Company, arose partly over Moor's comments on the Nanning situation in the June 30, 1829, issue of the paper. The observation, factually inaccurate according to historians, was as follows:<sup>39</sup>

The absence of intelligence of an important nature obliges us to cater for our readers from other sources than our own, tho' to speak of local affairs involves an unprofitable and oftener a dangerous task, if we judge by the Government advertisement which heads the Paper. Unless our actions or intentions be downright unjust, we should not be ashamed to let the world become acquainted with them, nor endeavour to stamp with the seal of secrecy, and guard them with the rod of power. The greater the secret the more will curiosity be aroused and the sooner will it emblazoned abroad thro' other channels for which there are no stoppages.

The lion of the day at Malacca at present is the intended expedition to Nanning where, it is said the Malay inhabitants are a little refractory, being unwilling to pay the ten per cent tythe on produce which Government have endeavoured lately to enforce upon them. The people of Nanning claim certain privileges and exemptions allowed them in former times, whether on just grounds, it is not for us to say. We doubt not, however, but that the matter have been duly weighed before such an important step should be taken as to send up a sufficient force, with Artillery, and a Civilian as Political Agent to obtain submission and compliance by intimidation if fairer means fail. We heard some time ago that a strong muster of men from different districts in the interior were in readiness at a short notice to oppose with "hostile front," but we do not expect to hear of any skirmishes taking place, as the Malays, we guess, are easily intimidated, but we expect to hear that on the arrival of the force the place will be deserted, so that the claim upon it will be the stronger, as possession constitutes one of the nine points of the law — But more anon.

Samuel Kidd, nominal head of the Malacca Mission at the time of the incident, wrote: "The discussions on the subject of local slavery and some remarks on the proceedings of Government had rendered it obnoxious to them, particularly the last number that was published." We do not know what the last number in October, 1829, contained. It may have been more comments on Nanning or embarrassing comments on slavery then prevalent among some Malay aristocrats. We are certain that the Nanning diatribe had irritated government and precipitated a chain of events leading to suspension of publication.

Following the June 23 number of the paper, the government moved slowly and methodically — although correspondence between Company officials on the subject was frequent and long — in punishing Moor for his breaches of newspaper decorum. An indirect approach was pursued; pressure was brought on the printer, in this instance the Anglo-Chinese Press of the Mission, the only press in Malacca. Governor Robert Fullerton attempted to make the printer responsible for Moor's good conduct, as Samuel Kidd related the affair:<sup>40</sup>

The Governor, now on his periodical visit at Malacca, sent for me the other day and expressed his displeasure and surprise that such a paper as the *Observer* (the last number of which was lying on the table) should be published at the Mission Press ... and took my leave of him with the understanding that if I were to be made responsible as well as the Proprietor and Publisher, I must inform Mr. Moore of my determination not to enter into any such engagement. The result of my interview was communicated to Mr. M. who, when I explained to him the inconvenience which might result to the Society from continuing the paper in connection with the Mission Press, immediately said that after publishing another number he would resign the paper. A day or two afterwards, however, he sent a notice round informing his subscribers that he had resigned the Editorship of the *Observer*, and that it would cease to be published from that date.



One other newspaper, about which little is known, was published at Malacca, probably at the Anglo-Chinese Press, the *Malacca Weekly Register*, 1839-40. When this weekly ceased, Malacca had no newspaper again until the '80s. Whether this was due to an absence of printing facilities or to a lack of financial support is not known.

While the Anglo-Chinese Press may be regarded as primarily a producer of sacred and Christian literature, much secular material was also published: dictionaries, grammars, travel books, school books, and other works relating to a variety of topics in English, Chinese and Malay. The Chinese and Malay publications which were published may be roughly classified into translations of the Bible, commentaries on the Bible, theology, sacred biography, catechisms, prayers, hymns, history and astronomy. Some of the publications represented considerable planning and scheduling of production facilities. The complete Bible, translated into Chinese by Morrison and Milne, in twenty-one volumes consisting of almost 2,700 pages, was published in 1824. A great number of the publications were leaflets and pamphlets numbering from eight to one hundred pages.

Conflicting missionary reports would probably make it impossible to compile a complete inventory of publications of the Anglo-Chinese Press, 1815-1842. The utility of such a compilation would also be questioned. From Milne's *Retrospect* a tabulation of English, Chinese and Malay titles and the total number of copies in each language may be reconstructed, 1815-1819. Reprinting is included in the title count. During this period Milne reported 62 Chinese titles totalling 117,299 copies. Twenty Malay titles were printed in editions totalling 20,500 copies. Milne listed four English titles for the period and noted that only 1,200 copies of these four were printed.<sup>41</sup> John Ince's press production report for 1819 to the Directors of the Society shows a discrepancy between his and Milne's count of English language books. Ince reported 43,000 copies of books, 12,000 of the Chinese magazine, 22,000 Malay tracts, 16,000 Chinese *New Testaments* and 3,000 English books.<sup>42</sup>

In an appendix, Medhurst grouped all Chinese books printed by the Society at Canton and Malacca between 1810 and 1836. The list contains 107 titles representing 450,469 copies. For Malacca, Penang, Singapore and Batavia through 1836, Medhurst commented: "If the number of pages of each work be reckoned, with the amount printed off, it will be seen that the brethren in the Ultra-Ganges missions have issued from their presses, in those regions, upwards of eight million pages of religious publications in the Chinese and Malayan languages."<sup>43</sup>

Publishing efforts at Malacca declined after the first fifteen years. Reprinting was continued as the demand for copies arose. Fewer new titles, however, were published during the last ten years of the Anglo-Chinese Press. Agents came, died, or left the Society before they could master Chinese or Malay sufficiently to compose in the languages. The enthusiasm to translate and print that characterized the activities of some agents in the early years, seems to have been lost. The printing establishment was closed in 1842, and the press and equipment was sent to Singapore. There it remained until it was shipped to Hong Kong in 1846.



## PRINTING IN SINGAPORE

Printing came to Singapore, figuratively speaking, on the heels of the first agent of the London Missionary Society who arrived from Malacca soon after the settlement was founded in 1819. The Mission Press, as it was designated, catered to the commercial and government needs of the infant settlement for eight years without a competitor.

After six and one-half years of "jobbing" at the Mission Press, the September 9, 1830 number of the *Chronicle* was "Printed at the Singapore Chronicle Press." Proprietors of *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser* brought the third press to Singapore from Calcutta, and issued the first number of their paper October 8, 1835, on "Europe" paper. *The Straits Times* was fourth on the scene with Volume 1, Number 1, July 15, 1845; it was printed with "new type" on "fine English paper." The latter is the only publisher from the pioneer period which has continued to the present day.

## THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY PRESS

William Milne, head of the mission at Malacca, applied for a grant of land in Singapore May 29, 1819 in order to establish a Chinese and Malay mission. The land was "... for the purpose of enabling us to erect a dwelling House, School, Places of Christian worship, and for a garden and such other purposes as the objects of the Mission may require."<sup>44</sup> His request received a warm reception and favourable reply. Milne was acquainted with Raffles who had furnished him official transportation on a tour of Java in 1814. Raffles was kindly disposed toward English missionaries, regarding them as useful educational emissaries in their efforts with the indigenous population.

The reply to Milne's request for mission land came from William Farquhar: "... it will afford me the greatest pleasure to meet your wishes . . . As most of the Country in the vicinity of this Settlement is in a state of nature, I would recommend your endeavouring if possible to pay a visit here yourself or to detach one of the Members of the Society to fix upon a proper site for your proposed Establishment . . . it affords great satisfaction to be able at the same time to convey to you the entire convenience of Sir Stamford Raffles to your proposal."<sup>45</sup>

Samuel Milton, who had arrived in Malacca to work with the Chinese on September 14, 1818, was sent to Singapore in October, 1819, to regain his failing health and also to select the land and start mission work on the island.<sup>46</sup> Milton was joined by Claudius Henry Thomsen, who had come down to Singapore from the Malacca mission in May, 1822, as missionary to the Malays. Thomsen had brought a small press and workmen with him. In January, 1823, both Milton and Thomsen requested permission from the government to establish a printing press. This was granted January 23, 1823: "With regard to the establishment of a printing press in aid of your labours the Lieutenant Governor gives his full sanction to the measure, and will be happy to assist the undertaking by the patronage and support of Government, as far as circumstances admit."<sup>47</sup> In February, 1823, Thomsen wrote the Directors of the Society in London:<sup>48</sup>

We are now printing in English & Malay & have a small Type-Foundry & are doing book-binding. Government has been pleased to honour our little Press (which I described in a former letter) with the printing of all public Documents both in English & Malay — One of the Lads composes in English and one the Malay — one is Pressman — one does Type cutting & another bookbinding . . . I would now only mention that the little travelling Press is merely provided with a small quantity of Malay Types, & old Engl. Types barely enough to set up 4 pages smoo which will nearly be worn out in 12 months — regular Bookprinting must be deferred 'till the Directors supply our wants.'



The evidence is not conclusive but it would appear that printing occurred on the Mission Press before the formality of government permission was granted. Munshi Abdullah mentions translating into Malay a Raffles proclamation making gambling and the opium farms illegal. This was printed and distributed about October, 1822.

Samuel Milton had not waited for Government permission or action of the Board in London. He had sailed to Calcutta December 8, 1822, (armed with three letters of introduction from Raffles and Raffles' assurance that Government needed a large printing establishment) to purchase printing equipment. Whatever may be said of Milton, he cannot be accused of timidity in procuring equipment for the Mission Press in Singapore. He returned from his Calcutta shopping tour April 8, 1823, and wrote the London headquarters describing his purchases:<sup>49</sup>

After an absence of twelve weeks I returned home from Calcutta... with three printing presses and their furniture, one fount of English types, one fount of Siamese types (this is the first fount of these types that was ever cast) one fount of Malay types, with a quantity of english printing paper, printing ink, English compositor &&& also a quantity of type metal, metal furnace and ladles, one set of Siamese, one set of Malay & one set of Arabic Matrices and everything necessary for casting types in the above mentioned languages... I have also furnished myself with a complete set of European tools, figures, letters, presses &&& for binding books and have engaged a man to attend to that department. Hence you will perceive that I am prepared to print at this station in five languages viz English, Siamese, Malay, Arabic, Chinese...

The printing equipment purchased by Milton created consternation in London (the Society had not authorized the purchases), led to Milton's dismissal from the Society, and clouded the proprietary rights in the Mission Press for twenty years. In defence of his action, Milton avowed that the purchases were on his own responsibility and that he intended to assign the equipment to the Society. But he had no money to meet the due bills and creditors were impatient. The Society in London refused to pay for unauthorized purchases.

Robert Morrison came to Singapore from Canton to resolve the affair. He reported that he found Milton destitute: "I had reason to believe *without food & without credit* . . . I lent him 1000 Dollars to supply his present necessities & I used my influence with Sir Stamford to take the Types and Presses off his hand for 2000 dols."<sup>50</sup> Milton's version of the mediation, however, differs in many respects. He reported the press and equipment had been transferred to the Singapore Institution at the request of Raffles, and that Morrison "forced" the action on him.<sup>51</sup> The presses and equipment were paid for from the public subscription money raised for the Singapore Institution.

For a few years, the press operated from the Singapore Institution with first Milton in charge, then Thomsen. Publications for 1825 and 1826 were imprinted "Institution Press" or "Mission Press." On May 10, 1834, Thomsen (just before his departure for England, dismissed from the Society) sold the presses, buildings, and some land on which the ownership claims were not clear, to Stephen Johnson of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions for 1,500 dollars.<sup>52</sup> Just how Thomsen secured proprietary rights in the Mission Press is obscured in history. The London Missionary Society disputed his ownership. For the next eight years, the Society negotiated with the American Board concerning the bargain purchases from Thomsen. When the Americans left Singapore in 1843, the press and lands were handed over to the London Missionary Society without charge.

Under the supervision of Milton, then Thomsen (1825-1833), the Mission Press was more active in printing Malay books and tracts than was the press in Malacca, in addition to printing for government and for the commercial and mercantile community. It is true, however, that blocks for new Chinese publications were engraved and impressions made in Singapore. But most of the Chinese tracts and Bibles distributed in Singapore were sent down from Malacca. Medhurst's list of titles printed for the years 1824-1833 included only Malay publications.<sup>53</sup>



# LIST OF BOOKS PRINTED AT SINGAPORE

|       |                                        |            |   |   |   |        |
|-------|----------------------------------------|------------|---|---|---|--------|
| 1824. | A Selection of Hymns, in Malay         |            |   |   |   |        |
|       | A Spelling Book,                       | Do.        |   |   |   |        |
|       | A System of Arithmetic,                | Do.        |   |   |   |        |
| 1825. | The Gospel of Matthew,                 | Do.        |   |   |   |        |
|       | Assembly's Catechism,                  | Do.        |   |   |   |        |
| 1826. | Malay Tracts                           | -          | - | - | - | 25,000 |
| 1827. | Watts's First Catechism, Malay         |            |   |   |   |        |
|       | School Lessons,                        | Do.        |   |   |   |        |
|       | Three Tracts,                          | Do.        |   |   |   |        |
|       | Missionary Hymns, in English           |            |   |   |   |        |
|       | Malay Hymns                            |            |   |   |   |        |
|       | A Bugguese Tract                       |            |   |   |   |        |
| 1828. | A new Malay Do. in the Roman character |            |   |   |   |        |
|       | Two Ditto,                             | Arabic do. |   |   |   |        |
|       | Watts's First Catechism, in Malay      |            |   |   |   |        |
|       | School Lessons,                        | Do.        |   |   |   |        |
| 1829. | Malay Tracts                           | -          | - | - | - | 8,000  |
|       | Scripture Tickets,                     | Do.        | - | - | - | 4,000  |
|       | Abdullah and Sabat,                    | Do.        |   |   |   |        |
|       | Sermon on the Mount,                   | Do.        |   |   |   |        |
|       | Good News for the Children of Adam,    | Do.        |   |   |   |        |
| 1830. | Malay New Testament                    | -          | - | - | - | 2,000  |
|       | Matthew, in Malay                      | -          | - | - | - | 2,000  |
| 1831. | Bugguese Tract                         | -          | - | - | - | 500    |
|       | Three Malay Do.                        | -          | - | - | - | 6,000  |
|       | One Siamese Do.                        | -          | - | - | - | 1,000  |
|       | Three School Books, in Malay           |            |   |   |   |        |
| 1832. | Several Malay Tracts reprinted         |            |   |   |   |        |
| 1833. | Six Malay                              | Do.        | - | - | - | 15,000 |
|       | Two Bugguese                           | Do.        | - | - | - | 3,000  |
|       |                                        |            |   |   |   | <hr/>  |
|       |                                        |            |   |   |   | 66,000 |

## THE MISSION PRESS AND THE AMERICANS

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions established a station in Singapore in 1834 for the same reasons that the London Missionary Society had located in Malacca. Singapore became a training ground for American missionaries ultimately bound for China, and a publishing centre where Christian literature in Chinese, Bugis and Malay was printed for dissemination throughout the islands of Southeast Asia as well as the mainland. The Board also had a secondary interest in the indigenous population and at least two of their agents conducted schools for the Malays. The American Board sent more agents in the nine years they were in Singapore than the London Missionary Society sent in their 27 years. By 1835, there were ten agents and wives, including a doctor, in Singapore.

Ira Tracy arrived first in July, 1834. He was soon joined by Peter Parker and Alfred North, a practical printer. Others came and departed after sojourns of varying length. Tracy, along with James T. Dickinson, specialized in the Chinese language, while North and Joseph Travelli were considered the Malay language experts.



Total production figures of the Mission Press under American supervision cannot be reconstructed. For the years 1835 and 1836, it was reported to the home office that more than two million pages of tracts and Scriptures were printed in Chinese, Malay and Bugis.<sup>54</sup>

Most of the tracts in Chinese were reprinted from the blocks engraved in Malacca by the London Missionary Society agents. Ira Tracy and David Abeel, did, however, translate new material in Chinese and new blocks were cut for printing. By 1840 most of the Americans had departed. In 1843, the station was closed and the remaining schools, land, buildings and printing establishment were all handed over to the London Missionary Society. Not a single imprint in the check list can be identified from the Mission Press while it was under American auspices.

#### THE MISSION PRESS AND B. P. KEASBERRY

The name of Benjamin Peach Keasberry is not only revered in Singapore history, but is intimately associated with the Mission Press. Born at Hyderabad in 1811, he was the youngest of three sons of a British army colonel who was appointed in 1814 as Resident of Tegal in Java. Keasberry's early education was at Mauritius and Madras. He first came to Singapore some time in the late '20s as a small merchant, and moved to Batavia about 1830 as a clerk for a British firm. While there, he was influenced by Walter Henry Medhurst with whom he lived for three years learning printing, bookbinding and lithography. In 1834, with money from his father's estate, he went to America with David Abeel, missionary in Java for the American Dutch Reformed Church. Keasberry entered the church's seminary at New Brunswick, New Jersey, and attended the theological school for two years.

After completing school and visiting England, Keasberry desired to be sent out as a missionary by the American Board; they were experiencing financial difficulties at the time and could not engage him. With his American wife, Keasberry came to Singapore independently in April, or May, 1839. He gave drawing lessons to support himself on arrival, and spent his free time distributing tracts, preaching to the Malays in their own language, and assisting at the Mission Press. He applied to the London Missionary Society and was accepted as their agent in Singapore, the first Malay missionary at the station since Thomsen's departure in 1834.

When the London Missionary Society closed the Singapore station in 1846, Keasberry refused to leave, making a passionate and forceful appeal to the Society to keep one missionary in Singapore. His request was denied, but the Society gave him as a parting gift the press and types which had been used by the mission at Penang, a small lithographic press, and some other printing equipment which had been used at Malacca, and an allowance of fifty pounds annually. The whole of the Mission Press, Singapore, was shipped to China.<sup>55</sup>

Without doubt, Keasberry was the first Protestant missionary to minister successfully to the Malay population. He loved and was beloved, and had fluent command of the language. His free school for Malay boys was the first institution in Singapore to combine manual work with classroom curriculum. All his students were taught a trade: printing, bookbinding, lithography, as well as reading and writing. The Mission Press was continued both as a commercial venture — the proceeds were used to support the school and the Keasberry family — and for evangelization. Some of the titles which Keasberry selected to translate and distribute were *The Book of Genesis*, *The Psalms*, *The Life of Moses*, *The Life of Jesus*, books and pamphlets on natural history, and stories for children. Beginning in January, 1858, a Malay (Jawi) quarterly journal, *Chermin Mata*, "neatly printed on stone, embellished with a coloured fancy frontispiece and cover" was published at the Mission Press. (The National Library, Singapore, has Volume Two of this important journal for the year 1859.)



Keasberry discarded the former practice of giving books away to all takers. Recipients of his publications had to demonstrate reading ability before receiving the materials.<sup>56</sup> His death came in church while conducting services September 6, 1875; his missionary work was continued by William Young until 1881, when it was turned over to the Presbyterian Mission. The Mission Press equipment, which had been augmented by purchases through the years, passed to Fraser and Neave and continued as Printers Limited until the Japanese invasion of 1942.

#### THE NEWSPAPER PRESS

The history of the *Singapore Chronicle* from its founding in January, 1824, until its demise September 30, 1837, has been fully and adequately written.<sup>57</sup> The history of the other two long-lived newspapers, — *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser* and *The Straits Times*, founded during the period under discussion — is not within the concern of this study; nor is the history of more than a half-dozen Singapore papers published for brief periods before 1859, tantalizing as they may be. From scattered published sources, references have been found which would seem to furnish conclusive evidence that at least two Chinese weeklies were published during the period under review: *Tifang jih pao* (Local News, 1845), and *Jit sheng* (Rising sun, 1858), printed at the Mission Press. At least four English language papers were published: *Straits Messenger* (1842-43), *Singapore Local Reporter* (1852-53), *Straits Guardian* (1854), and *Shipping Gazette* (1858), a daily published at the Commercial Press. Files of these papers do not appear to have been preserved in any repository in Malaysia or Singapore.

All newspaper presses depended for a part of their income on job printing from the commercial sector. Printing for government was also sought after. The editor of *The Straits Times* requested in 1849 that all government printing, including newspaper announcements, should be awarded on the basis of competitive tender. At the time the complaint was voiced, government announcements appeared in *The Singapore Free Press* at a rate of ten dollars per notification. Job printing for the Straits Government was performed at Keasberry's Mission Press. Governor Butterworth was reluctant to tender for printing, but did so upon receiving instructions from India. *The Singapore Free Press* quoted five dollars per announcement, irrespective of length, and received the award. Keasberry received the contract for job printing for three to five years. His charge was fifty cents per form, without reference to length or subject matter. *The Penang Gazette and Straits Chronicle*, having no competitor, continued to charge ten dollars for each government announcement inserted.<sup>58</sup>



## BOOK DISTRIBUTION

No evidence has been found in the period 1806–1858 of an individual or firm specializing as booksellers. The literate minority was too small to support any establishment devoted exclusively to the printed commodity. Merchant houses both in Penang and Singapore advertised extensively when they received a consignment of books from England, but no merchant seems to have pursued bookselling as more than a minor sideline. Locally published books were distributed by the printer and publisher, sold on subscription before publication, and afterwards, based on extensive press notices.

The advent of a new publication was always heralded by “Shortly to be published,” “In the Press,” and “Just Published and for sale at this office.” It was not uncommon for the newspaper advertising campaign to extend over a period of several months. In attempting book distribution through the press and the printing office, publishers in the Straits were following a custom used in all remote areas and appealing to their only potential customers, — the literate minority.

With but few exceptions, all books printed for public sale in the Straits, 1806–1858, were in English. The Mission Press published several titles in Malay which received extensive notice: the quarterly journal, *Chermin Mata*, the *Hikayat Abdullah*, the autobiography of the father of modern Malay literature, and several other titles by Munshi Abdullah. It would appear that the literate Chinese population in the Straits Settlements had only the missionary tracts. Books may have been imported from China, but nothing is known about this possibility.

The missionaries distributed publications by area saturation. They walked the streets, kampongs, and the decks of ships in the harbour to give out tracts, books and Bibles to all who would receive them, without reference to literacy. Jacob Tomlin, who came to Singapore in May, 1827, as an agent for the London Missionary Society, described his experience as a distributor of print.<sup>59</sup>

My fellow labourer and myself have been here about five months, chiefly occupied in daily superintending two schools, and in distributing the holy Scriptures and tracts. We have gone over the town and neighbourhood, for the purpose of visiting the people, and passed from house to house in the manner of an agent of the Bible Society in England. We also made excursions into the interior of the island, and found the Chinese settled in small companies in various parts of it, occupied in their plantations and gardens. Afterwards we *circumnavigated* the island of Singapore, and saw four or five Malay villages on the coast. We next embarked in a schooner, freighted with “the bread of life,” and took a voyage to a neighbouring island called Rhio, belonging to the Dutch, where several thousands of Chinese reside.

Our labourers are not confined to the Chinese, who are settled in this and the neighbouring islands. We have frequent opportunities of sending the word of God to China, and various other countries and islands where the Chinese are settled. Although the season for the junks was far advanced when we arrived here, we have been on board of thirty-seven from China, Cochin-China, Siam, Borneo, Java, Sumatra, Banca &c. And after supplying the readers on board with books, we consigned to their care a small cargo of tracts and Scriptures for their friends at home. The number of individuals on board varied from 10 to 120, of whom the greater part, I think, could read.

Only a sublime innocence or naiveté could maintain faith in the efficacy of evangelization through this broadside method of book distribution. One wonders how many overseas Chinese coolies or Bugis, Chinese and East Indian boatmen were literate at this time. An Englishman who signed himself “A Church-Goer” was so incensed that he wrote the *Singapore Chronicle*, September 23, 1830, criticising the missionaries and their indiscriminate literature distribution programme:

Do you not think they would be better employed in Preaching the Gospel to their countrymen than in printing and distributing Tracts to Chinese coolies who cannot read them if they were inclined, and the probability is, would not if they could? In my perambulations I occasionally see these said Tracts used for the purpose of protecting the Fruit on the Vines in some of the Chinamen's Gardens.

American missionaries followed the same distribution pattern as the English, making one innovation. They chartered a ship for wider literature dissemination rather than depending solely on ships visiting the harbour. The sailing vessel, “Himmaleh,” left Singapore in January, 1837, for a voyage that consumed several months, with missionary passengers and a cargo of Chinese and Malay literature for distribution in Borneo and other islands of Southeast Asia.



## BOOK DECORATION AND ILLUSTRATION

Early printers in the Straits used a variety of printers' ornaments to decorate and embellish title pages, paper wrappers, and occasionally the text itself of printed matter. The most common ornaments used were based on floral themes, variously known as fleurons, florets, or printers' flowers. Intricate borders with Arab-style patterns or arabesques were employed also. Printers' rules which were decorative, wavy, thick or thin had a pleasing effect. The newspaper printing shops had stock metal or woodcuts of houses, ships and the like which were used to attract the attention of readers. In a few of the publications, wood engravings or lithographs were specifically prepared to illustrate textual material.

The earliest illustrated publication noted was *The Indo-Chinese Gleaner*. Numbers eight and nine for April and July, 1819, contain two crude reproductions from a wood engraving to illustrate an article on Malay demonology. One of the illustrations, a truncated female head, moving with flowing hair and trailing entrails (the penanggalan), represented the artistic efforts of Munshi Abdullah. Abdullah wrote this account of the event: "Then I drew a picture of a woman, only her head and neck with entrails trailing behind. Mr. Milne told a Chinese to cut out the picture for a printing block and asked that the story would be put in a magazine called the *Anglo-Chinese Gleaner*."

*The Journal of the Indian Archipelago* contains a number of illustrations, plans and maps, reproduced by lithography and tipped in at the appropriate spot to illustrate the text. Volume one for 1847 contains full page illustrations of "A Dyak," "Cochin Chinese" and "Mintiros." These drawings were the work of Robert Wilson Wiber, who served as second master at the Singapore Institution Free School. John Turnbull Thomson, government surveyor, who modestly signed with only his initials drew "Women and Men of the Mintira Tribe" for the same volume. Thomson also executed many of the maps and plans which appeared in the same journal. B. P. Keasberry was a fairly accomplished artist. It may be suspected that he drew some of the unsigned illustrations which appear in several imprints, more especially if the publication was lithographed at the Mission Press.

The early printers circumvented the incompatibility of letterpress and the lithographer's stone in a most unusual way. *The Journal of the Indian Archipelago* contains a few examples where letterpress text and small lithographed illustrations were combined on the same page (see, for example, Volume 5, February 1851, pages 89 and 90). This was accomplished by leaving blank spaces on the printed page and in a separate and tedious operation, mounting the small lithographed illustrations in the space.

Except for the wood engravings which were prepared by the Chinese block cutters, all illustrations noted were from the lithographer's stone. The Mission Press under Keasberry and later the newspaper presses were doing lithographic work. Beginning in 1847, Peter Aviet Seth, one of three brothers who operated in Singapore as merchants' agents, opened "Seth's Press," a lithographic and copper plate printing firm. This firm was dissolved in 1853.



## BOOK BINDING

A few of the surviving publications described in the checklist are sturdily bound in half, three-quarter and full calf, plain without tooling or stamping. There is no compelling evidence to indicate that these are not contemporary bindings. There were qualified book binders at the mission presses though their names were not revealed for posterity. The newspaper establishments advertised book binding "executed with care, neatness and promptitude."

*The Prince of Wales Island Gazette* advertised on January 16, 1808: "Book Binding, in all its branches, executed in the latest manner at the Gazette Office." *The Singapore Free Press* in July, 1836, announced that it had a thoroughly experienced book binder and maintained that its bindings were "warranted proof against insects," certainly a claim which a few short months of the tropics would prove erroneous. The Mission Press in Singapore had all necessary binding equipment, purchased by Samuel Milton on his buying spree to Calcutta. Under Keasberry, Malay boys were taught the art of binding.

The only two book binders identified by name were one Abrams and a Moritz Leo who were listed in the *Singapore Almanack and Directory* for 1851. Abrams was located on Kling Street; Leo at first on Market Street, later on Kling. Neither maintained their own business for more than three years.

## PAPER

Paper for printing and all other purposes had to be imported. The bulk of the surviving imprints were printed on a light weight wove stock, which derived from China, India and Western Europe. Paper from China and India was considerably cheaper than European paper and could be obtained with more regularity than European-made. Much of the paper used in the surviving imprints must have had a high cellulose content and a chemical component which has been activated by the tropical climate, for the pages in many of the publications have become extremely brittle and an unusual degree of foxing has occurred.

Occasionally a pamphlet or small booklet was printed on all rag, laid paper, bearing watermarks and the date of production. Such papers were hand-produced and invariably came from England. A few publications were printed on the ledger stock especially manufactured for the East India Company. This was a hand-made paper produced by J. Whatman, Balston and Company, in England. In addition to being dated the paper carries as a distinguishing feature a watermark insignia of the East India Company: a heart surmounted by the letter "4" with the initials "VEIC" woven into the design.

## JAWI IMPRINTS

Jawi is the Malay term for an adaptation of the Arabic script. It is written from right to left, with most of the letters joined. There are no capital letters. Since it developed as a cursive form of writing there is little, if any, difference between printed and manuscript Jawi. The script has been used in the Malayan world since Islam was introduced in the fourteenth century; the name probably derived from Java (*Jawa* in Malay). The bulk of contemporary publishing is in Romanized Malay, although at least three newspapers are printed in Jawi in West Malaysia.

Enche Suri Mohyani very graciously transcribed and translated the Jawi titles recorded in the checklist. Some of the lithographed Jawi imprints described in the checklist are elaborately decorated with floral and arabesque designs. Some of the latter decorations are small and appear frequently between the lines or at the bottom of the pages. These are so unobtrusive as to be overlooked in scanning the pages.



## A WORD ABOUT BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

The titles of the books and pamphlets in the following checklist are transcribed exactly as they appear on the title page, or in its absence, the caption or cover title. Punctuation and wording are followed meticulously. Line endings are indicated by the use of the slanted stroke (/). Since many of the title pages were printed in both Roman and italics with a profusion of large and small capitals, it seems advisable not to attempt to duplicate or otherwise indicate this in the transcription. When rules or other printers' ornaments were used for decorative purposes on the title page, this has been indicated by an editorial interpolation enclosed in brackets: i.e. [rule].

Gatherings, the signatures, possibly indicating imposition, have not been indicated. Many of the titles described have no visible signings. These may have been present at one time but in binding, or in many instances rebinding, have been trimmed away.

In those instances where laid, watermarked paper was used for a publication, this has been noted and commented on when the mark has been decipherable.

Pagination, numbered or not, is given for each publication. All preliminary pages, blank or printed, are included in the page count for frequently these were counted by the printer in his numbering. Final blank pages are ignored. A few examples will suffice to indicate the method followed:

Example 1. [3], II-IV, [1], 2-147p. In this publication there are three unnumbered preliminary pages: the title page, the verso (normally blank) and a third unnumbered page. This is followed by pages numbered in Roman II, III, IV; there follows one unnumbered page and then pages numbered in Arabic 2 through 147.

Example 2. [3] 2-87, [2], 2-27p. In this publication there are three unnumbered preliminary pages, numbered pages 2-87, two unnumbered pages (printed or blank), and a second series of pages numbered 2-27. The verso of page 27, the last printed page, is blank and is not noted in the pagination.

The following symbols are used to indicate location of copies:

- KU University of Malaya Library
- NA National Archives and Records Centre, Singapore
- P Penang Free Library
- S National Library, Singapore
- SU University of Singapore Library

Cecil K. Byrd  
University Librarian  
Indiana University  
Bloomington, Indiana, USA  
Singapore, June, 1970



# CHECKLIST OF IMPRINTS 1806-1858

1820

- 1     *The Hon'ble the Governor in Council / is pleased to direct that the following  
proclama- / tion be published in General Orders: / Fort Cornwallis, the 18th June,  
1820 . . . [28 lines, signed:] W. A. Clubley, / Sec. to Govt. [Penang, 1820]*

Broadside 16½ × 10 inches. Printed one side. Text within a thick, mourning border.

The proclamation announced the death of the King, George III.

LOCATION: NA (bound into *Penang, General Orders in Council, K 3, 1817-22*).

- 2     *The / Indo-Chinese Gleaner. / Containing / Miscellaneous Communications  
/ on the / Literature, History, Philosophy, / Mythology, &c. / of the / Indo-Chinese  
Nations, / Drawn Chiefly from the Native Language, / Christian Miscellanies; and  
General News. / [short, double rule] / Published Quarterly, / [short, double  
rule] / Vol. II. / [short printer's ornament] / Malacca: / Printed at the Anglo-  
Chinese Press / [short rule] / 1820.*

The first number of this quarterly publication was issued in May, 1817, and continued until the death of William Milne, the editor, in 1822; in total, three volumes were published. The quarterly was printed on wove paper generally called India paper, and each number usually contained about forty octavo pages. The contents combined religion, philosophy, literature, history, as well as news of missionary activities at other stations, news features from China, and special articles. It was usual for numbers to contain announcements relating to books and pamphlets printed on the Anglo-Chinese Press. The principal contributors were Milne and Robert Morrison, founder of the Protestant mission to China.

The National Library, Singapore, has numbers 3, 5, 6 dated February, August and October, 1818; 7-10, dated January, April, July and October, 1819; and numbers 11-14, dated January, April, July and October, 1820. It is likely that each number was issued in printed paper wrappers on which the full title, volume and number were indicated.

The missionary press at Malacca published at least four other periodicals: a monthly magazine in Chinese, *Tsa she suh mei yue t'ung ke choen*, which ran to seven volumes, 1815-1821, with Milne as editor, and *The Periodical Miscellany and Juvenile Instructor*, an English language monthly issued by John Evans. The latter periodical was initiated sometime in 1836 and, as nearly as can be determined, was published for about two years. Unfortunately, no copies of either can be located in libraries of Singapore and Malaysia. The British Museum has partial files of both periodicals.

A Malay magazine in Jawi, with English translation, was printed for a short period in 1821, edited by Claudius Henry Thomsen, and another Chinese periodical, *The Universal Gazette, T'ien hsia hsin wen*, a monthly broadsheet printed from movable type, edited by Samuel Kidd, was published during 1828-29.

LOCATION: S

See plate 1



### 3 MILNE, WILLIAM

*A / Retrospect / of / the first ten years / of the / Protestant Mission / to / China, / (Now, in connection with the Malay, Denominated, / the Ultra-Ganges Missions.) / Accompanied with Miscellaneous Remarks on the Li- / terature, History, and Mythology of China, &c. / by / William Milne / [rule] / Malacca: / Printed at the Anglo-Chinese Press. / [short rule] / 1820.*

[3], iv-viii, [1], 2-376 p.

The rather innocuous title of this book conceals its importance as a source for information relating to the establishment of the mission station at Malacca from the beginning in 1815 through 1819.

Milne was born in Scotland in 1785. In his early youth he had been a farm labourer and had been apprenticed as a house carpenter. In 1809, he applied to the London Missionary Society, was accepted and given training in the Society school at Gosport. He was ordained in 1812, approximately a month before he embarked for China. Milne was the second Protestant missionary sent out by the Society. He arrived in Macao in July, 1813, to join Robert Morrison; then went to Malacca, arriving on May 22, 1815 to open the mission station there. He died at Malacca on May 27, 1822.

In addition to his translating work on the Bible, printed in 23 volumes at Malacca in 1823, Milne wrote scores of tracts which were printed in Chinese at Malacca. A fairly complete list of his Chinese publications is included in [Alexander Wylic], *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries* . . . , pp. 13-20.

LOCATION: S, SU

See plate 2

### 1821

#### 4 [Prince of Wales Island Almanack, Annual Register and Directory for 1822. Penang, William Cox, 1821]

[30], 1-204 p. (incomplete). Caption on first page, enclosed in printer's device resembling a picture frame, "The Almanack for 1822." The title is assumed from the appendix heading on p. [49]. Imprint supplied.

The first unnumbered thirty pages contain a monthly almanac; the recto of these pages is headed "Occurrences in January." Aside from the numbering for the days of the month, these pages were left blank for the owner's use. The copy described is badly damaged. It may be assumed that the publication was issued with a title page or in paper wrappers containing a wrapper title.

The contents are devoted to government and civic affairs, including a wealth of information about Penang in 1821, with a list of officials, troops and European residents. Since the almanac was for use throughout the year 1822, it is assumed that it was printed and distributed late in the year 1821.

This was not the first almanac and directory relating to, and published in Penang. The *Prince of Wales Island Government Gazette* for March 7 and 14, 1807, announced that a Prince of Wales Island Directory and Calendar was "in the press." Since only two notices of the proposed publication appeared, it is doubtful that it was ever published.

The first almanac and directory was probably published for the year 1819. In June of that year, the government purchased "six sets of an Almanack and Directory for the Prince of Wales Island lately published . . ." for the use of officials. The price was five (Spanish) dollars per copy. (EIC, A, Vol. 14, p. 214)

LOCATION: S

See plate 3



1822

- 5      *Price Current of Goods at Singapore, on [in manuscript, 31 May] 1822 [Singapore, 1822].*

[4] unnumbered pages. Caption title only. Printed on East India laid paper watermarked 1819.

Contains a list of commodities under headings "Eastern Produce," "China Goods," "Bengal and other Indian Goods" and "Produce of Europe, America, &c." with blank columns separated by vertical rules, for prices and remarks to be inserted in manuscript.

This is believed to be the earliest extant sample of printing from the first press in Singapore. It is a crude piece of printing, especially in the rule work, substantiating C. H. Thomsen's assertion that he brought a very limited font of English type with him from Malacca when he came to Singapore in May, 1822. If this small piece of job printing was done on the Mission Press in Singapore (and there is more evidence for than against), it proves conclusively that printing began immediately on the arrival of Thomsen, in May, 1822, before the formality of government permission to establish a press had been granted.

LOCATION: NA (bound into *Singapore Letters to Bencoolen, L 8, 1822*)

See plate 4

1824

- 6 [ANDERSON, JOHN]

*An Exposition / of the / Political and Commercial Relations / of the / Government of Prince of Wales Island, / with the / States on the East Coast of Sumatra, / from / Diamond Point to Siack, / containing / a Brief Account of the Several Missions to these States, / the Nature of the Trade Carried on Between / Them and the British Settlements in the / Straits of Malacca; the Produce of These / Countries and the Duties and Port / Charges Levied at the Se- / veral Places. / [printer's device] / Printed under the Authority of Government. / [short rule] / Prince of Wales Island, / 1824.*

[3], 2-52 p.

The report was the work of John Anderson, then Secretary to the Government, who was the Company agent selected to make the commercial and diplomatic mission. Anderson was also the author of two other publications printed during the year 1824 at Penang. They were *Observations on the Restoration of Banca and Malacca to the Dutch, as affecting the tin trade and general commerce of Pinang . . .*, and *Political and Commercial Consideration relative to the Malayan Peninsula, and the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca*. Copies of both the above publications are located in the British Museum.

Anderson was at Penang from 1813 to 1830, employed first as "writer," then deputy-warehouse-keeper and Malay translator to government. He was promoted by stages to secretary to government and in 1827 was made a justice of peace for Penang, Singapore and Malacca. His later publications, after he returned home in 1830, relating to British commerce in the Straits of Malacca, attracted considerable attention.

LOCATION: S



*Statement / of / Receipts and Disbursements / concerning the erection of / the Malay Chapel. / Singapore, A.D. 1823. [printer's ornament] / Address. [Singapore, 1824]*

[1], 2-3 p. Caption title only.

Contains a brief history of the Malay chapel, which was constructed and opened in 1823 under the auspices of the London Missionary Society agents, a report of an auditing committee dated September 3, 1824; expenditures for the construction of the chapel and a list of contributors with the amounts contributed. It is assumed that this was printed at the Mission Press in Singapore in 1824.

LOCATION: NA (bound into *Singapore Consultations*, A 53, 1828)

See plate 5

## 1825

*[Emblem] / [double rule] / A.D. 1825. Regulation I. / [printer's ornament] / A Regulation for re-enacting and forming into a regular / Code all Regulations that have been already passed for the / collection of Taxes and Duties on Commerce in British / Territories subject to the Government of Prince of Wales / Island. [Penang, 1825]*

[59] unnumbered pages. Caption title. Printed on East India laid paper watermarked 1820, 1823 and 1824.

The publication contains regulations on customs, exportation of arms and ammunition, duty on opium imports, duty on retail of opium, duties on betel leaf, regulations for retailing toddy and baang, duties on arrack and spirits, regulations for slaughtering and selling pork and fees for pilotage. There is a four-page index to the contents at the end.

LOCATION: NA (bound into *Penang Miscellaneous Enactments*, K 5, 1825-1827)

## 1826

*[Emblem] / [double rule] / Government Notification. / [printer's ornament] / The Honorable the Governor in Council / is pleased to direct that the following Act of the 6th George / 4th, Cap. 110 intituled "An Act for the Registering of British / Vessels" 5th July 1825, be published for general information. / [short wavy rule] / Anno Sexto / Georgii IV. Regis. / [Penang, 1826]*

[36] unnumbered pages. Printed on East India Company laid paper dated 1819 and 1820. At end: "J. Anderson, / Sec. to Govt. / Prince of Wales Island, / Singapore, and Malacca. / Fort Cornwallis, / The 29th November, 1826."

The publication is bound into *Penang Miscellaneous Letters*, I, 31, 1827. This volume also contains samples of printed forms which were likely to have been printed in the Straits Settlements.

LOCATION: NA (a second copy is bound into *Penang Miscellaneous Enactments*, K 5, 1825-1827)



- 10 [double rule] / *Government Notification.* / [printer's ornament] / *The Honorable the Governor in Council* / is pleased to direct that the following Act of the 6th George / 4th, Cap. 109 intituled "*An Act for the encouragement of / British shipping and navigation*" 5th July 1825, be published / for general information. / [short wavy rule] / *Anno Sexto / Georgii IV. Regis.* [Penang, 1826]

[8] unnumbered pages. Printed on East India Company laid paper dated 1820. At end: "J. Anderson, / Secy. to Govt. / Prince of Wales Island, / Singapore, and Malacca. / Fort Cornwallis, / The 29th November, 1826."

LOCATION: NA (bound into *Penang Miscellaneous Enactments*, K 5, 1825–1827)

- 11 [Emblem] / [double rule] / *A.D. 1826. Regulation I.* / [printer's ornament] / *A Regulation for levying the duties on the Retail of / Opium and Preparation of Opium for smoking.* [Penang, 1826]

[4] unnumbered pages. Caption title only. Printed on East India Company laid paper dated 1823.

LOCATION: NA (bound into *Penang Miscellaneous Enactments*, K 5, 1825–1827)

- 12 [Emblem] / [double rule] / *A.D. 1826. Regulation II.* / [printer's ornament] / *A Regulation for levying the Duties on Spirituous Liquors.* [Penang, 1826]

[6] unnumbered pages. Caption title only. Printed on East India Company laid paper, dated 1823.

LOCATION: NA (bound into *Penang Miscellaneous Enactments*, K 5, 1825–1827)

- 13 [Emblem] / [double rule] / *A.D. 1826. Regulation III.* / [printer's ornament] / *A Regulation for levying the Duties on the Sale of / Toddy and Baang.* [Penang, 1826]

[3] unnumbered pages. Caption title only. Printed on East India Company laid paper, dated 1823.

LOCATION: NA (bound into *Penang Miscellaneous Enactments*, K 5, 1825–1827)

- 14 [Emblem] / [double rule] / *A.D. 1826. Regulation, IV.* / [printer's ornament] / *A Regulation for cancelling Regulations 1, 2 and 3, of / 1826—passed by the Hon'ble the Governor in Council on the / 22nd May 1826*

[1] unnumbered page. Caption title only. Printed on East India Company laid paper dated 1824.

LOCATION: NA (bound into *Penang Miscellaneous Enactments*, K 5, 1825–1827)

- 15 [Emblem] / [double rule] / *A.D. 1826. Regulation, V.* / [printer's ornament] / *A Regulation vesting in David Brown and His Heirs, / for ten years, the exclusive privilege of holding a market / with the right of levying certain duties on grain, to defray / the charge of keeping up a regular market place.* [Penang, 1826]

[5] unnumbered pages. Caption title only. Printed on East India Company laid paper, dated 1820.

LOCATION: NA (bound into *Penang Miscellaneous Enactments*, K 5, 1825–1827)



[Emblem] / [double rule] / A.D. 1826. Regulation, VI. / [printer's ornament] / A Regulation re-enacting certain rules for the collection of / assessments on houses situated in George Town Prince / of Wales Island, published by order of the Honorable the / Governor in Council on the 28th September 1826. [Penang, 1826]

[3] unnumbered pages. Caption title only. Printed on East India Company laid paper, dated 1824.

LOCATION: NA (bound into *Penang Miscellaneous Enactments*, K 5, 1825-1827)

## 1827

[Emblem] / [double rule] / A.D. 1827. Regulation, I. / [printer's ornament] / A Regulation for the purpose of providing the means of / cleaning, watching, lighting, upholding and keeping in repair / the streets of George Town... [9 lines] Passed by the Honorable the Governor in / Council on the 1st January 1827. [Penang, 1827]

[5] unnumbered pages. Caption title only. Printed on East India Company laid paper, dated 1819.

LOCATION: NA (bound into *Penang Miscellaneous Enactments*, K 5, 1825-1827)

[Emblem] / [double rule] / A.D. 1826. Regulation, VII. / [printer's ornament] / A Regulation for rescinding Regulation VI. of 1826 — / Passed by the Honorable the Governor in Council on the 31st / December 1826. [Penang, 1827]

[1] unnumbered page. Caption title only. Printed on East India Company laid paper, dated 1820.

LOCATION: NA (bound into *Penang Miscellaneous Enactments*, K 5, 1825-1827)

## 1828

The / Chinese Classical Work / commonly called / the / Four Books; / translated, / and illustrated with notes, / By the late Rev. David Collie, / Principal of the Anglo-Chinese College, / Malacca. / [printer's ornament] / Printed at the Mission Press. / [short rule] / 1828.

[3], ii-vi, [3], viii-xiv, [1], 2-14, [1], 2-31, [2], 2-45, [3], 47-98, [3], ii-vi p.

The repeat pagination pattern in this book leads to the conclusion that the contents were first printed as three separate pamphlets. Afterwards a title page was printed, and the three separates bound as a single volume. Movable Chinese type was employed in some of the notes.

The four books translated were the Ta Hsueh (Great Study), the Chung Yung (Invariable Medium), the Lun Yü (Dialogues), and the Meng Tzu (Mencius).

Collie, an agent of the London Missionary Society, arrived in Malacca in June, 1822, to work with the Chinese. He served as professor of Chinese and librarian in the Anglo-Chinese College until 1828, when he became principal. He died at sea on February 27, 1828, while en route to Singapore. The British Museum has a copy of the above work as well as a copy of his *The English and Chinese Student's Assistant, or Colloquial Phrases* . . . , printed at Malacca in 1826. The latter work was done in collaboration with Shaou Tih. The most ambitious work of Collie was to translate Bogue's *Essay on the Evidences of Christianity* into Chinese. This was published in three volumes in Malacca in 1827.

LOCATION: S

See plate 6



- 20 *Rules and Orders / for the Court of Judicature, / of / Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore, and Malacca . . . [104 lines, printed in two columns. Signed: / A. J. Kerr, / Registrar. / Passed by the Court, / Monday, 14th April 1828. [Penang, 1828]*

Broadside 16½ × 13 inches. Printed one side only. Printed on laid paper watermarked 1826.

LOCATION: NA (bound into *Singapore Judicial and Official Regulations, Q 3, 1828*)

- 21 *Sir, / I am directed to transmit to you the accompanying printed copy of the proceedings of a special general meeting of the Ci- / vil Servants at this Settlement . . . [one line] Fort Cornwallis. / Prince of Wales Island, / The 6th December, 1828. / J. W. Salmond. / Secretary and Accountant to the Civil Fund. [Penang, 1828]*

[3] unnumbered pages. Printed on laid paper watermarked "Radway 1823." Caption title only.

The contents relate to an annuity fund for East India Company covenanted servants.

LOCATION: NA (bound into *Singapore, Letters from Governor, Z 3, 1828-29*)

## 1830

- 22 [MEDHURST, WALTER HENRY]

*[Enclosed in a ruled border] Journal / of / a Tour / Along the Coast of Java / and Bali &c. / With a / Short Account / of the / Island of Bali, / Particularly of Bali Baliling. / [decorative printer's device] Printed at the Mission Press, / For the use of the "Singapore Christian Union" / for extending the benefits of Education and the / knowledge of Christianity in Singapore and / other parts of the Malayan Archipelago. / Singapore. / 1830 / [small printer's ornament]*

[1], 2-40 p. The above is the wrapper title, enclosed in a ruled border. The caption title on p. [1] reads: "Journal / of a Tour, / Along the Coast of Java / and Bali &c." Only the front wrapper, blue in colour, remains.

Medhurst was unquestionably the author of this interesting account. In his book, *China: Its State and Prospects, with Especial Reference to the Spread of the Gospel: Containing Allusions to the Antiquity, Extent, Population, Civilization, Literature, and Religion of the Chinese* (London, John Snow, 1838), he mentions the tour and that he was accompanied by Reverend Tomlin, who is mentioned in the *Journal*. Jacob Tomlin, *Missionary Journals and Letters . . .* (London, James Nisbet, 1844) also gives an account of the tour, pp. 221 ff. Wylie, *Memorials* attributes the *Journal* to Medhurst.

That part of the *Journal* which is captioned on page 23 in the original "Short Account of the Island of Bali. Particularly of Bali Baliling" was extensively republished. It was reprinted in the *Singapore Chronicle*, April 22-June 3, 1830; published as a separate pamphlet in London in 1831 and reprinted in the July, October, 1831 numbers of *Transactions of the Missionary Society*. J. R. Moor also republished it in his *Notices of the Indian Archipelago . . .*, pp. 85-96, having lifted it from the *Singapore Chronicle*. The tour began November 14, 1829, from Batavia, and ended with the return January 23, 1830. A fairly complete bibliography of Medhurst's publications in Chinese, Malay, and English is contained in Wylie, *Memorials*, pp. 27-40.

LOCATION: S

See plate 7



1831

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. / چرترا حكايت عيسي.

[Translation:] *In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful / The Story of Jesus. / [Singapore, 1831]*

[1], 2-36 p., numbered in Arabic numerals. Imprint on p. 36: "Singapore, 1831; Printed by the S.C.U. 1st. Edition, 2,000 copies." Caption title; no title page. At bottom of p. [1] is "No. 8," probably indicating the eighth publication in the S.C.U. series.

The "S.C.U." contained in the imprint refers to the Singapore Christian Union, formed about 1827 by the missionaries of the London Missionary Society along with the Chaplin, Robert Burn, and interested Singapore residents. Its purpose was to print and distribute Christian literature in the settlement. Lay members of the Society were the chief financial contributors.

This is the earliest Malay imprint which has survived in Singapore and Malaysia. The translation into Malay was probably the work of Claudius Henry Thomsen. The pamphlet was printed by letterpress.

LOCATION: S

See plate 8

1832

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. No. 1. بهوا هندقله اغكو ميمبه الله / دان بربقتي كفدان سهاج.

[Translation:] *In the name of God, most gracious. Most merciful / No. 1 / Pray to God / and be a slave to Him only. [Singapore, Mission Press, 1832]*

[1], 2-16 p. numbered in Arabic numerals. Imprint on p. 16: "6th Edition, 2,000 copies. Singapore, Mission Press; 1832." Caption title only; no title page.

The "No. 1" in the title may have indicated a series of publications in Malay projected by the Mission Press. The pamphlet was printed by letterpress. The translation was probably done by Claudius Henry Thomsen.

LOCATION: S

## 25 [THOMSEN, CLAUDIUS HENRY]

*A / Code / of / Bugis / Maritime Laws / with / A Translation and [Gloss] ary, / Giving the Pronunciation and Meaning / of each word. / [short rule] / To which is added, / an / Appendix. / [short rule] / Singapore: / Printed at the Mission Press. / 1832.*

[3], II-IV, [1], VI, [1], 2-12, [1], 2-9, [2], 12-20, [1] 22-28 p.

Part of title page has been destroyed by insects obliterating the first four letters of "Glossary." Following the first numbered page (12) is a translation in English of the preceding Bugis script. The work was unquestionably that of Thomsen whose study and writing in Bugis is related in his correspondence with the London Missionary Society.



Thomsen had spent several years in the Dutch East Indies before joining the Malacca station in 1815 to work with the Malays. The Directors of the Society complained that ten years after his arrival in the Straits, he felt it necessary to still employ a Malay teacher. He came to Singapore in 1822 as a Malay missionary. He conducted a small school for Malay boys and tried unsuccessfully to establish a pepper plantation. He was charged with a shortage in his accounts and other irregularities, and was dismissed as a missionary. Leaving Singapore in 1834, he went to England where he was permitted to resign from the Society.

LOCATION: S

1833

26 [THOMSEN, CLAUDIUS HENRY]

*A / Vocabulary / of the / English, Bugis, and Malay / Languages, / Containing About 2000 Words. / [short rule] / Singapore: / Printed at the Mission Press. / 1833. / [short rule] / (Price one Dollar.)*

[4], V-VI, [1], 2-64, [2] p. Verso of T.P. blank.

According to an advertisement on p. [iii], two previous editions of English-Malay had been published and in this, the third edition, Bugis was added because an anonymous donor had contributed toward the printing cost. The British Museum has copies of two other editions of Thomsen's vocabularies: *A Vocabulary of the English and Malay Languages, containing upwards of 2000 words*, Malacca, 1820; and *A Vocabulary of the English and Malay Languages. Enlarged and improved*, Mission Press, Singapore, 1846. The enlargement and improvement was probably the work of Benjamin Peach Keasberry, who according to contemporary accounts, was more versatile in Malay than was Thomsen. Munshi Abdullah collaborated with Thomsen on the 1820 edition of the *Vocabulary*.

The British Museum mistakenly attributes the 1846 edition to "T. Thomsen" and the 1820 Malacca edition to "T. Thomson."

LOCATION: S

See plate 9

27 *The / Twelve Tables: / Being / The Inter-Exchange of the Government Currency / at the British Settlements / in the Straits of Malacca. / [short thick-thin rule] / Malacca: Printed at the Mission Press. / 1833. / N. B. — Any Profits realized on the sale of this Compilation, will be / appropriated to the benefit of Native Education.*

[3], 4-43 p. Printed on East India Company paper, which is watermarked 1828 and 1829.

This is a table which was used in converting Sonaut, Sicca and Madras rupees and Spanish dollars at rates of exchange then authorized by the East India Company from India.

C. M. Turnbull, "Bibliography of writings in English on British Malaya", *JMBRAS*, XXXIII, part 3, 1960 (No. 191) p. 342, attributes this compilation to H. T. Prinsep, a director of the East India Company, without indicating the source for the information. There is no clue in the pamphlet itself suggesting authorship.

LOCATION: S

See plate 10



1836

LOW, JAMES

*A / Dissertation / on the / Soil & Agriculture / of the British Settlement / of Penang, / or / Prince of Wales Island, / in the Straits of Malacca; / With Brief Reference to the Settlements of / Singapore & Malacca, / and accompanied by Incidental Observations on Va- / rious Subjects of Local Interest in These Straits. / [short rule] / By / Captain James Low, / of the Madras Army; in Civil Charge of Province Wellesley and / Corresponding Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of / Great Britain and Ireland, and Member of the Asia- / tic Society of Calcutta. / [short thick-thin rule] / Printed at the Singapore Free Press Office. / 1836.*

[5], iii-v, [1], 2-321 [1] p. Last page contains errata. The volume has two folding illustrations, "Malayan Agricultural Implements," normally tipped in preceding the first chapter, and "A Po Table" between pages 268 and 269. These are hand coloured. They were lithographed by J. B. Tassin in Calcutta. The British Museum copy of this title mentions a map; no map is present in any copies examined.

Much of the material in this volume first appeared in the *Prince of Wales Island Gazette*. The title was advertised late in 1835 in the *Free Press* as being in preparation, and again in August, 1836, as nearing completion, to be published early in September.

Low retired a lieutenant-colonel in the Madras Army. His years of service in the Straits extended from 1818 to 1850, during which time he was especially concerned with the affairs of Kedah and Siam. He was in charge of Province Wellesley, the tract of land on the Kedah mainland opposite Penang island, from 1823 to 1840; he also served as Assistant Resident at Singapore.

LOCATION: P, S (2 copies), SU

1837

29 MOOR, JOHN HENRY

*Notices / of the / Indian Archipelago, / and Adjacent Countries; / Being a Collection of Papers Relating to Borneo, / Celebes, Bali, Java, Sumatra, Nias, the Philippine Islands, Sulus, / Siam, Cochin China, Malayan Peninsula, &c. / Accompanied by an Index and Six Maps, Viz. / 1. The Town and Suburbs of Singapore. 2. The Indian / Archipelago, Including Siam and Cochin-China. 3. River Coti in Borneo. 4. Malacca and / Naning. 5. Chart of Singapore Strait &c. 6. Penang and Province Wellesley. / By J. H. Moor, / For some time Editor of the Malacca Observer, Singapore Chronicle, / and Singapore Free Press. Part First. / Price, to Subscribers 5 Drs. to Non-Subscribers 6 Drs. / Singapore: / 1837.*

[5], ii-vii, [2], 2-4, [1], 6-71, [1], 73-215, [1], 217-276, [1], 1-117 p.

The maps and plans were lithographed by J. B. Tassin, Calcutta, in 1836; all excepting the chart of Singapore Straits are hand-coloured. An announcement in the *Singapore Chronicle*, August 1834, revealed the book was printed at the Mission Press in Singapore. The prospectus also appeared in the *Singapore Free Press* for several consecutive numbers in 1835. Moor contemplated two volumes when the prospectus was issued for this work in 1835; the last volume was to contain accounts of Singapore, Penang and Malacca. It was never published because of the disappointing sales of the first volume. Moor may be said to be the compiler only. The volume contains reprints from the *Singapore Chronicle*, 1824-1834, *Malacca Observer*, 1827, *Calcutta Journal*, *Malayan Miscellanies* (Bencoolen), *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and a few reprints of contemporary pamphlets.



Moor was born at Macao in 1802. He was taken to Ireland at age four where he spent his next twenty years; while in Dublin he at some time attended Trinity College and served an apprenticeship to a Dublin bookseller. He arrived in Malacca in 1826 where he originated and conducted a free school and published the *Malacca Observer* until the weekly was closed in October, 1829, by government intervention. Moor came to Singapore late in 1829, where he became, successively, editor of the *Singapore Chronicle* and the *Singapore Free Press*. From 1834 until his death in May, 1843, he was a school master at the Singapore Free School.

This title was reprinted in London by F. Cass in 1968.

LOCATION: P, S, SU

See plate 11

- 30 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم / سورت مفايجا بهاس ملايو / ترچف دنكري ملاك / قد تاهون 1836.

[Translation:] *In the name of Allah, most gracious. / Malay reading / book. / Printed in Malacca, / 1836, i.e., [1837]*

28 p. numbered in Arabic. Imprint on p. 28 "Malacca, Printed at the Mission Press 1837."

This is a book for beginners, probably used in the Malay schools conducted by missionaries at Penang, Malacca and Singapore. This copy is bound with *A Vocabulary of the English and Malay Languages* . . . (Malacca, 1837) but is a separate imprint intended to circulate without the *Vocabulary*.

LOCATION: S

- 31 *The / Third Report / of the / Singapore Free School. / 1836-7. / [short, thick rule] / Singapore: / Printed at the Singapore Free Press office. [1837]*

[3] 4-16 p. Printed, yellow paper wrappers, text of wrapper title same as title page. Unnumbered leaf, printed on one side only, sewn in between pages 12 and 13 which contains a statement of accounts for the school fund.

The Singapore Free School, founded by public philanthropy due to the failure of Raffles' Singapore Institution to materialize, opened for instruction August 1, 1834, with 46 boys in attendance under Headmaster John Henry Moor. In 1838, the trustees of the school agreed to merge with the inactive Singapore Institution Free School. The school was renamed Singapore Institution in 1856, and in 1868 became the Raffles Institution.

In the beginning instruction was offered in Chinese, Malay and Tamil, as well as English. By 1844, however, the school had developed into an English medium primary school.

LOCATION: S

- 32 *A / Vocabulary / of the / English and Malay / Languages, / in the / Roman and Arabic / character. / A new edition, enlarged and improved. / [printer's ornament] / Malacca. / Printed at the Anglo-Chinese College. / 1837. [short rule] / (Price one dollar.)*

[4], IV, [3], 1-99 p.

The first edition of this *Vocabulary* was published at Malacca in 1820 with intervening editions. Another "enlarged and improved" edition was published at the Mission Press, Singapore, in 1846.

LOCATION: S



*Singapore Institution / Free School. / [short rule] / Fourth Annual Report, [short rule] / 1837-38. / [printer's device] / With Appendix and Catalogue of Books / Now in the Library. / [short thick rule] / Singapore; 1838 / Printed at the Singapore Free Press Office.*

[3], 4-75 p. Printed yellow paper wrappers; text of wrapper title same as title page. The "appendix" noted on the title page is a reprint of the 1823 pamphlet containing the proceedings of the public meeting of April 1, 1823, relating to the formation of the institution. There is an unnumbered folding leaf printed on one side only sewn in between pages 32 and 33, containing the accounting for the school fund. Page 17 is misnumbered 72.

The catalogue of books in the library may well be the first printed catalogue of a book collection in Singapore. It occupies pp. 59-71. Pages 72-75 contain a report of the public examinations held at school excerpted from the *Singapore Free Press* of July 26, 1838.

LOCATION: S

تمثيل / يعني / قربنديشن اكما توهن عيسي المسيح؛ / دشن اكما محمد. / نبى / اورغ عربي  
دنكري مكه. / ترچف دقولو قينغ اوله توان قادري تومس ييطن / كقد عمور دنيا تاهن 1839 / دان  
كقد تاهن عيسي المسيح 1839 / دان هجرات محمد نبى اورغ عربي 1254.

[Translation:] *Comparison of the religion of Jesus / with the religion of Mohammed. / Prophet / of the Arabs in Mecca. / Printed in Penang by Reverend Thomas Beighton / in the Year 1839 / and in the Christian Year 1839 A.D. / and in the Muslim year 1254.*

32 p. numbered in Jawi. The first line of the title is reverse printing, white lettering in a square block printed in black. The text contains two illustrations: one is a reproduction of a side-wheel steamship, the other a desert scene with camels and drivers. A few decorative arabesques are scattered through the text. The booklet was produced by lithography.

This little tract, attempting to prove the superiority of the Bible over the Koran, caused a considerable stir in Penang. Muslim leaders considered the comparison odious, and in bad taste. A group petitioned the Governor to use his influence to stop Beighton from circulating similar tracts of this nature. Beighton, as was true of most of the London Missionary Society agents, was a man of little formal education. He had no real understanding of or tolerance for the Muslim religion. His approach in pamphleteering was to upgrade Christianity by downgrading Islam.

This pamphlet and the following Jawi imprints produced in Penang were translated by Beighton. He arrived in Malacca September 14, 1818, and began the study of Malay. He went to Penang April 9, 1819, where he established several Malay schools and in 1824 built a mission chapel. He became a friend of the exiled Sultan of Kedah, but frequently irritated Malay Muslim leaders by his uncompromising attitude on the superiority of Christianity. He died there in 1844.

LOCATION: S



- 35 فوجي ان / يعني تهليل / يثدبايكن اوله اورغ مسيهي / تتكل اي موجيكن الله / ترچف دڦولو  
 ڦينغ اوله توان قادري بطين / قد تاهون ١٨٣٩.

[Translation:] *Praises / or Chants / to be sung by the Christians / when they are praising God / Printed in Penang by Reverend Beighton / in the year 1839 A.D.*

92 pages numbered in Jawi. The title page is preceded by four pages of contents. The first word of the title is reverse printing in white letters within a square printed in black. Small decorative geometric designs separate parts of the text on many pages. The book was produced by lithography.

LOCATION: S

- 36 كښكيتن المسيح / كښكيتن المسيح / يعني / چرترا اي هيدوف بليك بښكيت / درفد قبورن  
 هاري يښكيت / درفد هاري اي ترصليب / ترچف دڦولو ڦينغ اوله / توان قادري بطين / قد  
 تاهن عيسويت 1839.

[Translation:] *The rise of Christianity / that is / the story of the resurrection of Jesus / on the third day after / His Crucifixion. / Printed in Penang by / Reverend Beighton / in the year 1839.*

104 p., numbered in Jawi. The first line of the title is enclosed in a heavy rule. The remainder of the title is enclosed in a decorative floral border.

LOCATION: S

- 37 *Singapore Institution / Free School. / [short rule] / Fifth Annual Report. / [short rule] / 1838-39. / [short rule] / With Appendix and Catalogue of Books / Now in the Library. / [short thick-thin rule] / Singapore. / Printed at the Singapore Free Press Office. / 1839.*

[3] 4-42 p. Canary printed paper wrappers; text of wrapper title same as title page. Unnumbered leaf printed on one side only, containing financial report, sewn in between pages 20 and 21. The catalogue of books occupies pages 26-42.

LOCATION: S

1840

- 38 السفر الزاهيد / يعني / فري چرترا فرجلانن اورغ زهيد / درفد / دنيا يښ ڦنا اين ڦرکي  
 کنکري يښ بقا يات کآخرت / دقياسکن بيانن اوله قادري يحييا بنیان سامقام / اي برمقي اداڻ /  
 سکارغ دترجمهکن اوله قادري تومس بيطن / کڦد بهاس ملايو دڦولو ڦينغ / قد تاهن 1840 عيسويت.

[Translation:] *The life story of a religious man / from this world to heaven / Narrated by Reverend John Bunyan from his dreams / Now translated by Reverend Thomas Beighton / Into Malay in Penang / in the year 1840 A.D.*

108 p. numbered in Jawi. Title enclosed in a double-ruled border.

This is a translation of part of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. The text is preceded by six pages of English and Jawi glossary. These pages were produced from letterpress, the remainder of the book was lithographed.

LOCATION: S



- 39 بهوا اين / فوجي ۲۱۲ يثدپايکن دشن برباگي ۲ / لاڳوڻ / قد تتکل سبهیڻ / اتو / فد تتکل  
برهمڻون ۲ اکن / ممنا دعا. / ترچف دنکري سيڻاڻورا / قد تاهن مسيحي. 1840.

[Translation:] *These are / the praises which are chanted / in the various forms during prayers / or during communal gatherings / in search of blessings / Printed in Singapore / in 1840 A.D.*

150 p. numbered in Jawi. The text is embellished throughout with small arabesque designs. The book was produced by lithography at the Mission Press.

The translation in all probability was the work of B. P. Keasberry.

LOCATION: S

- 40 *Singapore Institution / Free School. / [short, thick rule] / sixth Annual Report. / [short, thick rule] / 1839-40. / [very short rule] / With Appendix. / [short thick-thin rule] / Singapore: / Printed at the Singapore Free Press Office. / 1840.*

[3], 4-24 p. Canary printed paper wrappers; text of wrapper title same as title page. Unnumbered leaf printed on one side only, containing financial statement, tipped in between pages 22 and 23. The appendix mentioned on the title page includes the financial statement, list of monthly subscribers to the school, and a list of donors.

LOCATION: S (2 copies, one with wrappers wanting)

1841

- 41 *Singapore Institution / Free School. / [short rule] / Seventh Annual Report. / [short rule] / 1840-41. / [very short rule] / With Appendix. / [short thick-thin rule] / Singapore: / Printed at the Singapore Free Press Office. / 1841.*

[3], 4-20 p. Printed canary paper wrappers with text of wrapper title same as title page. The leaf containing pages 19-20 is outsize and is folded; it contains the financial statement and the list of monthly subscribers, which is the appendix noted on the title page.

LOCATION: S (2 copies, one with wrappers wanting)

- 42 حکایت بودق یثبرنام تم / اینله / حکایت بودق یثبرنام تم / یعنی / توما ییا انسي یغ ساغت /  
ستیاون لاڳي بربفتي کفد / توهن عیسي المسیح یغهماملیا / اداڻ. / ترچف دڦولو ڦینڻ اوله / توان  
قادري بطین قد تاهن 1841.

[Translation:] *The Story of Tom / That is / Thomas J. Ince who was / loyal and dedicated to / Christianity as Stated / Printed in Penang by / Reverend Beighton in the year 1841.*

24 p., numbered in Jawi. The first line of the title is reverse printing, white lettering on a black square block, enclosed in a border of floral designs. The text contains two crude illustrations. The pamphlet was produced by lithography.



This pamphlet is a tribute to the life of Thomas John Ince, whom we have been unable to identify with confidence. Though a namesake of John Ince, who went to Penang with Thomas Beighton as missionary to the Chinese, John Ince's children were reported to have died in infancy. Beighton wrote movingly of the death and funeral of Thomas referring to him as "my faithful servant for seventeen years" and relating that Thomas taught in one of the Malay missionary schools and assisted with the work at the missionary press. It may be conjectured that Thomas was an orphaned Malay informally adopted by Beighton. Thomas died suddenly in 1841 of an undiagnosed illness at age twenty-six.

LOCATION: S

1843

- 43 *Singapore Institution / Free School. / [short rule] / Eighth Annual Report. / [short rule] / 1842-43. / [short thick-thin rule] / Singapore. / Printed at the Singapore Mission Press. / 1843.*

[3], 4-23 p. Brown printed paper wrapper; text of wrapper title same as title page. Page [2] is blank and unnumbered. Page 11 contains the financial report. This leaf is folded and has been sewn in.

LOCATION: S (2 copies, one with wrappers wanting)

- 44 بهوا اين / حكايت عيسي / ترچف دنكري سيفاثورا. / قد تاهن مسيحي 1843.  
[Translation:] *This is / the Story of Jesus / Printed in Singapore / in 1843 A.D.*

89 p., numbered in Jawi. The above translation is the paper cover title which is partially torn away. The title page, in English, is "Life of Jesus," printed above an illustration of Jesus surrounded by small children. The text of the front cover is enclosed in a thick-thin ruled border. Within the border, separating the text, is an elaborate floral device.

There are fifteen illustrations depicting well-known events in the life of Jesus scattered throughout the text. None of these is signed and were likely stock engravings, available from a supply house. They are woodcuts and the text of the booklet has all the appearance of being printed from letterpress rather than lithographed. The cover title and the Jawi text on the back cover were probably lithographed.

The translation was the work of B. P. Keasberry and the booklet was produced at the Mission Press.

LOCATION: S

1845

- 45 *The / Report / of the / Singapore Institution / Free Schools / for / the Years / 1843-44 & 1844-45. / [short rule] / Singapore: / Printed at the Mission Press. / 1845.*

[4], 4-21 p. Blue printed paper wrappers; text of wrapper title enclosed in decorative border, same as title page.

According to the contents of this *Report*, no report was issued for the school year 1843-44. This could be considered the ninth annual report.

LOCATION: S (2 copies, one with wrappers wanting)



46      *The / Straits Times. / Almanack, Calendar and Directory. / For the year 1846. / Containing. / The / Government, various Departments, Merchants, Agents, Trades / and Professions. / Of / the Incorporated Settlements, / Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca. / [short rule] / Also / a General Directory. / Comprising. / Countries, Government, products, manufactures, Ambassadors, Consuls, / Moneys, Bankers, Merchants, Notaries, Hotels, &c. &c. / of / The Habitable Globe. / Forming. / At [sic] Epitome of the Universe. / [short rule] / Compiled and Arranged by R. C. W. / [short rule] / Singapore. / Printed at the Straits Times Press. / By Thomas Baptist. / [1845]*

[9], 2-25, [1], 27, [1], 29-80, 80a, [3], 81-166, [2], 2-30 p. This probably was issued in paper wrappers. On the recto of the first leaf is a half title: "Annual. / Calendar and Directory." /, verso blank, followed by title page. The second section comprising the last thirty pages is an appendix containing acts and regulations of the East India Company from 1830 onward.

The compiler was Robert Carr Woods, law agent, advocate, notary public, editor and proprietor of *The Straits Times*. This is the first annual directory published in Singapore.

LOCATION: S

#### 1846

47      *Rules / and / Regulations / for the Guidance / of the / Singapore Police Force: / Made and Passed / in / Quarter Session, / This 2nd Day of October, 1842. / [short double rule] / Singapore: / Printed by G.M. Frederick at the Singapore Free Press Office, / North Bridge Road. / 1846.*

[5], 2-27 p.

LOCATION: S (2 copies bound in Volume 4 of "Books Published in the Straits Settlements," PPO Section)

48      *The / Straits Times. / Almanack, Calendar, and Directory. / For / The Year 1847. / Containing. / The / Government, various Departments, Merchants, Agents, Trades / and Professions &c. &c. / of the / Incorporated Settlements, / Prince of Wales Island, Singapore, and Malacca. / [short rule] / Also / A General Retrospect. / of / the Trade and Commerce of / Singapore, / with / Tabular Statements. / [short rule] Compiled and Arranged by R.C.W. / [short rule] Singapore. / Printed at the Straits Times Press. / By Thomas Baptist. / [1846]*

[6], 3, [1], 5-52, [1] p. Printed yellow paper wrappers, text of wrapper title enclosed in a floral border with corner pieces, same as title page. Preface signed, December 15, 1846. Verso of back wrapper contains woodcut of a dock scene with sailing ships in the background.

The second annual edition.

LOCATION: S



## 49 [LOGAN, JAMES RICHARDSON, editor]

*The | Journal | of the | Indian Archipelago | and | Eastern Asia. | [very short rule] | Vol. 1 | [short rule] | Singapore: Printed at the Mission Press. | 1847*

Nine volumes of this important journal were published 1847–1855; a new series began in 1856 which ran two full volumes; volume three of the new series was published in a single number in 1859; the fourth and final volume appeared in 1863 (date of introduction) as a single number; the latter was a handbook for Colonists in tropical Australia by George Windsor Earl.

*Logan's Journal*, as it was called by contemporaries, began as a monthly publication and became quarterly beginning with volume 7. Each number was published in printed paper wrappers, with the contents listed on the verso of the back wrapper. At the conclusion of each volume, a title page and index was printed. Copies are usually found in bound form minus wrappers. A few numbers in the National Library and the University of Singapore still retain the original wrappers.

Volumes 1–2 were printed at the Mission Press, Singapore; volumes 2–6 at *The Straits Times*; the remaining volumes, except New Series 3, 4, at the *Free Press*. The last two volumes were printed by Matthew Gregory at Penang. Circulation of the journal was small. Throughout its publication it averaged only two to three hundred copies each number; fifty of these were subscribed for the use of the East India Company.

Some copies examined do not contain all the illustrations and maps as originally published. The following should appear in each volume:

- Vol. I, 12 illustrations, 2 maps
- Vol. II, 1 illustration, 1 map
- Vol. III, 1 map
- Vol. V, 10 maps
- Vol. VI, 10 illustrations, 6 maps
- Vol. VIII, 1 map in Supplement
- Vol. IX, 1 map
- New Series Vol. I, 1 map
- New Series Vol. II, 1 map
- New Series Vol. IV, 4 maps (lithographed by T. Black, Calcutta)

This was the first scientific journal to be published in the Straits. It contained articles on ethnology, geography, geology, history and the literature of the archipelago. Many early official documents, of which the originals have since disappeared, were included in various numbers.

Logan came to the Straits at age twenty in 1839. He lived at Penang until 1842, then went to Singapore as a law agent. He was a versatile man and combined law with journalism and scientific observation. He returned to Penang in 1853 and died there in 1869. At the time of his death he was notary public of the Supreme Court of the island. Many of the articles in the *Journal* on geology, commerce, geography and ethnology were written by him.

LOCATION: KU, P, S, SU

See plate 12



1848

- 50 اوندغ ۲ فولىس قد تاهن / ددالم كورت بسر قولو فينغم سيثافورا دان ملاك. / كقد 15  
هاربولن جولي قد هاري اربع ددالم كواتر سيشين / يفتيك قد تاهن 1846 / وقتو  
تربوكا كورت اد سمايم داتس سغكسان.

[Translation:] *Police laws / in the town of Penang, Singapore and Malacca / on Wednesday the 15th of July in the third quarter session / in the year 1846. / At the time of the opening of the town hall with the consent of the King. / Singapore, 1848*

1-12, [1] p., numbered in English. Imprint on last page: "Lith: in the Miss: Press. Singapore 1848".

The laws were printed on laid paper with a watermark date, "1846" Pages 3 and 12 contain small floral decorations.

LOCATION: S

- 51 *The / Singapore, Almanack, and Directory. / For the Year 1848. / (Being Leap Year.) / ocntaining [sic] / the / Government, various Departments, Merchants, Trades and Professions. / &c. &c. &c. / At / Singapore / [short rule] To which is Added a Retrospect of the Trade of the Settlement for 1847. / Compiled and Arranged by R.C.W. / [short rule] / Singapore / [decorative rule] / Printed at the Straits Times Press. / By Thomas Baptist. / [1848]*

[6], 3-14, [2], 17-44 p. Preface dated January 15, 1848.

The third annual edition which relates exclusively to Singapore.

LOCATION: S

1849

- 52 ABDULLAH BIN ABDUL KADIR, *Munshi*

حكايه / عبدالله بن عبدالقادر / منشي.

[Translation:] *The Story of / Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir / Munshi [Singapore, 1849]*

[3], 3-441, [1] p., numbered in Arabic numerals. The last page is a dedicatory page in English to Governor William John Butterworth: "Whose enlightened and liberal rule has been distinguished by the constant encouragement that has been afforded to the Malayan nations . . ." The title is within an elaborate geometric design. The two introductory pages following the title page are enclosed in a profuse floral design border, which have been hand-coloured in green and brown. All pages following the three preliminary pages are enclosed in a thin-thick-thin triple rule border. There are illustrations of the text on pages 28, 29, 383 and 419. The chapter headings are enclosed in elaborate floral designs.

Two different paper stocks, laid and wove, were used for printing the book. The laid paper does not contain a visible watermark. On the free portion of the back end sheet, it is recorded that the copy described was presented to the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on January 13, 1879.

Abdullah, correctly called the father of modern Malay literature, was encouraged and guided in writing his autobiography (*Hikayat Abdullah*) by B. P. Keasberry. The *Hikayat Abdullah* is not the only literary work of Abdullah. He translated a collection of Hindu fables, *Hikayat Galilah*



dan Daminah, which was published in Singapore in 1835. In 1837, he published *Kesah Pelayaran Abdullah*, an account of his experience on a voyage to the east coast of Malaya. He also published in 1837 at the Mission Press an old Malay manuscript, *Adat Segala Raja-Raja Melayu Dalam Segala Negeri* (The Customs of the Malay Kings Especially Concerning Childbirth). About 1839 he edited and published a history of the Malay people, *Sejarah Melayu*. A sample of his poetry "Malay Poem on New Year's Day 1848" was published in *The Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, Volume II, Number I, January, 1848, pp. 81-82. *Kesah Pelayaran Abdullah ka-Negeri Jeddah* was posthumously published about 1855 or 1856. It is an account of his pilgrimage to Mecca. He died in Jeddah in October, 1854. The account covers his experiences up to a fortnight before his death. The manuscript of his diary was brought back to Singapore by a companion on the journey, and published. Unfortunately, no original copies of these interesting works of Abdullah are located in Singapore or Malaysian libraries.

Abdullah began writing his autobiography in Singapore in 1840. The first draft was finished in May, 1843. The manuscript was revised for publication in 1847, and lithographed by Keasberry at the Mission Press in 1849.

The *Hikayat Abdullah* has been translated and reprinted in Jawi several times since 1849. One of the earliest Jawi editions was published by Lim Kang Chuan, Singapore, 1880. This was not a facsimile reprint of the 1849 printing, for the illustrations and decorations were redrawn and the text was copied from the 1849 edition. The Singapore Government Press published a Jawi edition in 1888. The work still commands a wide reading audience, especially in Malay schools, where it is used as a text. There have been several English translations, the most recent being that of A. H. Hill, published in *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Volume 28, Part 3, June, 1955.

Abdullah was Malay teacher for missionaries of both the London Missionary Society and the American Board. It may be rightly assumed that he assisted and participated in most of the Malay translations printed at the missionary presses. He also did a considerable amount of translating for official and commercial Singapore; his contribution to the development of modern Malay literature has not been authoritatively explored.

LOCATION: S

See plate 13

- 53     *The | Report | of the | Singapore Institution | Free Schools | for | the  
Years | 1845, 6, 7, & 8. | [short rule] | Singapore: | Printed by G. M. Frederick  
at the Singapore Free Press Office. | 1849.*

[5], 6-12, [2], 15, [1], 17-25 p. Unnumbered pages [13-14] are folded inserts.

LOCATION: S

- 54     *The | Singapore, Almanack, and Directory. | For the Year 1849. |  
containing. | The | Government, Various Departments, Merchants, Trade and |  
Professions. | &c. &c. &c. | at | Singapore, | [ornamental rule] | Compiled and  
Arranged by R.C.W. | [ornamental rule] | Singapore | [ornamental rule] |  
Printed at the Straits Times Press. | By Thomas Baptist.*

[8], 3-14, [2], 17-44 p. Green printed paper wrapper, text of wrapper title same as title page but enclosed in ornamental ruled border with corner pieces. Facing the title page is a page containing, in colour, "Singapore Local Signals" and "Mail Signals," flag hoists for ships in the harbour. This illustration was lithographed by Peter Aviet Seth after the drawings of John Russel, who was the Master Attendant and postmaster.

This was advertised in *The Straits Times* as published on January 15, 1849.

LOCATION: S



- 55 *Singapore Monthly Statement of Trade / compiled from official documents / imports of principal articles, quantities / from Great Britain. / Printed at the Mission Press, — Singapore. [1849]*

Broadside 14½ × 16 inches. The imprint is at the bottom of the page. Printed one side only. Laid paper watermarked "Holland."

Contains imports and exports for January and February, 1849, as well as the number of arrivals and departures of "native prows and boats" and "Square rigged and Native vessels." Includes imports from British India, China and continental Europe.

This was a monthly publication, a commercial venture of the Mission Press.

LOCATION: S

- 56 *From Great Britain. [Mission Press Singapore, 1849]*

Broadside 18½ × 16½ inches. Printed one side only. The imprint has been trimmed away. This contains the trade statistics for March, 1849.

The format is the same as the trade statistics for January and February. Laid paper watermarked "Van Gelder."

LOCATION: S

- 57 *From Great Britain. [Mission Press, Singapore, 1849]*

Broadside 17½ × 16½ inches. Printed one side only. The imprint has been trimmed away. Laid paper watermarked "Holland."

Trade statistics for April, 1849.

LOCATION: S

- 58 *Imports from Great Britain. / Printed at the Mission Press — Singapore. [1849]*

Broadside 19½ × 16½ inches. Printed one side only. Laid paper, watermarked "Van Gelder."

Trade statistics for May, 1849.

LOCATION: S

- 59 *Imports from Great Britain. — Quantities. / Printed at the Mission Press, — Singapore. [1849]*

Broadside 19½ × 16 inches. Printed one side only. Laid paper, watermarked "Holland."

Trade statistics for June, 1849.

LOCATION: S



- 60 *Imports from Great Britain. — Quantities. / Printed at the Mission Press, — Singapore. [1849]*

Broadside 19½ × 16 inches. Printed one side only. Laid paper, watermarked "Holland."

Trade statistics for July, 1849.

LOCATION: S

- 61 *Singapore Monthly Statement of Trade — August, 1849, / [compiled from official documents.] / [brackets are in source] [short rule] / Imports from Great Britain. — Quantities. / Printed by G. M. Frederick at the Singapore Free Press Office. [1849]*

Broadside 19½ × 12 inches. Printed one side only. Heading printed in open face type.

Although a new publisher began publishing this series, the format and arrangement of statistics remained essentially the same.

LOCATION: S

- 62 *Singapore Monthly Statement of Trade — September 1849 / [compiled from official documents.] / [brackets are in source] [short rule] / Imports from Great Britain. — Quantities. / Printed by George Matthew Frederick at the Singapore Free Press Office, Malacca Street. [1849]*

Broadside 19½ × 13½ inches. Printed one side only.

LOCATION: S

- 63 *Singapore Monthly Statement of Trade — October, 1849, / [Compiled from official documents] / [brackets are in source] [short rule] Imports from Great Britain. — Quantities. / Printed by G. M. Frederick, at the Singapore Free Press Office, Malacca Street. [1849]*

Broadside 19½ × 12 inches. Printed one side only.

LOCATION: S

- 64 *Singapore Monthly Statement of Trade — November, 1849, / [Compiled from official documents] / [brackets are in source] [short rule] / Imports from Great Britain. — Quantities. / Printed by George Mathew [sic] Frederick at the Singapore Free Press Office, Malacca Street. [1849]*

Broadside 19½ × 12 inches. Printed one side only.

LOCATION: S



- 55 *Borneo Revelations: / A series of letters / on / the Sereban & Sakarran Dyaks, / and / the Rajah Brooke. / by Scrutator. / [2-line quotation, small printer's ornament] Singapore: / Printed at the Straits Times Press / By Shaik Kaim. [1850]*

[2], iii-vi, [1], 2-58 p. Blue printed paper wrappers, text of wrapper title, enclosed in ornamental border with corner pieces, same as title page.

This booklet contains a reprinting of seven letters on Borneo pirates first published in *The Straits Times* October 29, November 5, 12, 19, 26 and December 3, 10, 1850. The anonymously written letters relate to a naval expedition by James Brooke and Henry Keppel in Borneo waters in July and August, 1849, on which several hundred Serebos and Sakarran Dyaks were killed as pirates. The author of these letters sought to prove that the natives were not pirates and were needlessly and wantonly massacred. A public investigation was demanded.

Brooke was assailed at home for his actions and was twice acquitted by the House of Commons. A petition by Singapore residents in 1851 led to the appointment of a commission of enquiry in Singapore in 1854, which cleared Brooke.

The chief protagonist for the Singapore investigation was Robert Carr Woods, owner of *The Straits Times*, who might have been the author of the letters.

LOCATION: S

- 66 *The / Singapore Almanack, and Directory. / For the Year / 1850 / Containing. / The / Government, Various Departments, Merchants, Trades / and Professions. / &c. &c. &c. / at / Singapore / [short, ornamental rule] / Compiled and Arranged by R.C.W. / [ornamental rule] / Singapore. / Printed (for the Proprietor) at the Straits Times / Press. — By Shaik Kaim.*

[8], 3-44, [1] p. Green printed paper wrappers, text of wrapper title same as title page but enclosed in ornamental ruled border with corner pieces. The last unnumbered printed page is a fold containing trade statistics for years 1847-48 and 1848-49.

LOCATION: S

- 67 *Singapore Monthly Statement of Trade — December, 1849. / [Compiled from official documents] / [brackets are in source] [short rule] / Imports from Great Britain. — Quantities. / Printed by G.M. Frederick, at the Singapore Free Press Office, Malacca Street. [1850]*

Broadside 19½ × 12 inches. Printed one side only.

LOCATION: S



- 68      *Singapore Monthly Statement of Trade — January, 1850* [Compiled from official documents] / [brackets are in source] [short rule] / Imports from Great Britain. — Quantities. / Printed by G. M. Frederick, at the Singapore Free Press Office, Malacca Street. [1850]

Broadside 19½ × 12 inches. Printed one side only.

The National Library also has copies of this publication for February, March, April, May, June, July, August, September, November and December, 1850. All are broadsides, printed by G. M. Frederick at the *Free Press* on the same kind of paper, in the same format and all are approximately the same size.

LOCATION: S

## 1851

- 69      *The / Singapore Almanack and Directory, / For the year / 1851. / Containing. / The / Government, Various Departments, Merchants, Trades, / and Professions. / &c. &c. &c. / at / Singapore.* [short ornamental rule] / *Compiled and arranged by R.C.W. / [ornamental rule] / Singapore. / Printed (for the Proprietor) at the Straits Times / Press. — By Shaik Kaim.*

[4], 3–44 p. Green printed paper wrappers, text of wrapper title same as title page but enclosed in ornamental ruled border with corner pieces.

LOCATION: S

- 70      *Singapore Monthly Statement of Trade — January, 1851* [Compiled from official documents.] / [brackets are in source] [short rule] / Imports from Great Britain. — Quantities. / Printed by G.M. Frederick at the Singapore Free Press Office. [1851]

Broadside 19½ × 12 inches. Printed one side only.

Copies for February, March, April, May, June, July, August, September, October, November and December, 1851, are in the National Library. All are broadsides printed at the *Free Press*, alike in format and size to the January broadside described above.

LOCATION: S

## 1852

- 71      *The / Excise Act / for / the Settlement of / P. W. Island, Singapore / and / Malacca. / [short double rule] / Singapore: / Printed at the Mission Press. / 1852.*

[3], 2–18 p. Brown printed paper wrappers; text of wrapper title same as title page.

LOCATION: S (2 copies bound in volume 6 of “Books Published in the Straits Settlements,” PPO Section)



- 72      *The / Singapore Almanack and Directory / For the Year 1852: / Containing. / The / Government, Various Departments, Merchants, Trades / and Professions / &c. &c. &c. / at / Singapore. / [short ornamental rule] / Compiled and Arranged by R.C.W. / [ornamental rule] / Singapore, / Printed (for the Proprietor) at the Straits Times / Press. — By Shaik Kaim.*

[4], 3-44 p. Blue printed paper wrappers, text of wrapper title same as title page but enclosed in ornamental ruled border. Wove paper.

LOCATION: S

- 73      *Singapore Monthly Statement of Trade — January, 1852 / [Compiled from official documents] / [brackets are in source] [short rule] / Imports from Great Britain. — Quantities. / Printed by G.M. Frederick, at the Singapore Free Press Office. 1852*

Broadside 19½ × 12 inches. Printed one side only.

Copies for February, March, April, May, June, July, August, September, October, November and December, 1852, are in the National Library. All are broadsides printed at the *Free Press*, alike in format and size to the January broadside described above. The April broadside has a small broadside 3½ × 9 inches mounted on the printed surface containing information omitted in the initial printing.

LOCATION: S

#### 1853

- 74      *The / Report / of the / Singapore Institution / Free Schools, / for the Year / 1853. / [short, wavy rule] / Singapore: / Printed at the Mission Press. / 1853.*

[3], 2-3, [2], 6-37 p. Pink printed paper wrappers, text of wrapper title enclosed in decorative border, same as title page.

LOCATION: S (2 copies, one wanting wrappers)

- 75      *The / Singapore Almanack and Directory / For the year 1853. / Containing / The / Government, Various Departments, Merchants; / Trade and Professions, / &c. &c. &c. / at / Singapore. / [short ornamental rule] / Compiled and arranged by R.C.W. / [short ornamental rule] / Singapore, / Printed at the Straits Times Press. / By Shaik Kaim.*

[4], 5-48, [5] p.

LOCATION: S



- 76      *Singapore Monthly Statement of Trade — January, 1853* / [Compiled from official documents] / [brackets are in source] [short rule] / Imports from Great Britain. — Quantities. / Printed and published by G. M. Frederick, at the Singapore Free Press Office, 28 Commercial Square, Singapore. [1853]

Broadside 19½ × 12 inches. Printed one side only.

Copies for February, March, April, May, June, July, August, September, October, November and December, 1853, are in the National Library. All are broadsides printed at the *Free Press*, alike in format and size to the January broadside described above. The December number has the imprint: "Printed and Published by Jacob Baptist, at the Singapore Free Press Office."

LOCATION: S

1854

- 77      *The* / *Singapore* / *Almanack and Directory* / *for* / *the Year 1854.* / *Containing* / *Government, Various Departments,* / *Merchants, Trades & Professions,* / *etc. etc. etc., at* / *Singapore.* / [short rule] / *Compiled and Arranged by R.C.W.* / [short rule] / *Singapore: Printed for the Proprietor, by Robert Parkinson,* / *at the Straits Times Press.* / [short rule] / MDCCCLIV

[5], 4-27, [1], 29-65, [1]. The last unnumbered printed page is a fold containing comparative trade statistics for 1851-52, 1852-53. Yellow printed paper wrappers, text of wrapper title enclosed in ornamental border, same as title page.

LOCATION: S

- 78      *Singapore Monthly Statement of Trade — January, 1854,* / [Compiled from official documents.] / [brackets are in source] [short rule] / Imports from Great Britain. — Quantities. / Printed and Published by Jacob Baptist, at the Singapore Free Press Office. [1854]

Broadside 19½ × 12 inches. Printed one side only.

Copies for February, March, April, May, June, August, September, October, November and December are in the National Library. All are broadsides printed at the *Free Press*, alike in format and size to the January broadside described above. The caption title for the December number varies slightly: "Singapore Statement of Trade. / From 26 November to 10th December 1854, inclusive."

LOCATION: S



- 79 / بهوا این / کتاب قد میتاکن / دریحال جنیس ۲ علمو کفنداین / اورغ ایروفاہ. / ترچف دباتو /  
 ددالم نگری سیٹافورا داتس بوکیت زیون / قد تاهن مسیحی. / 1855.

[Translation:] *The book containing / the different types of skills / of the European / Printed with the aid of slabs / [stone] / Printed in Singapore at Zion Hill / A.D. / 1855.*

124 unnumbered pages. The translated title above is from the paper cover title. Texts of all pages are enclosed in a thick-thin ruled border. The cover title is enclosed in a thick-thin ruled border with floral corner pieces.

The text might more aptly be called an elementary treatise on the political economy of Western Europe.

Zion Hill, River Valley Road, was the location of the Mission Press.

LOCATION: S

- 80 *Comparative abstract statement of the trade of Malacca with the undermentioned places between the years 1853-54 and 1854-55. / Malacca, 1st May, 1855. H. Man, — Resident Councillor. [Singapore? 1855]*

Broadside 19½ × 9½ inches. Printed one side only.

Tabular data comparing Malaccan imports and exports with Middle and Southeast Asian countries.

LOCATION: S (bound with *Singapore Statement of Trade* broadsides for the year 1855)

- 81 *Comparative Abstract Statement of the trade of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca, / with the undermentioned places during the official years 1852-53 & 1853-54. / Singapore, 26th February, 1855. W. J. Butterworth, Governor. [Singapore, 1855]*

Broadside 19½ × 9½ inches. Printed one side only.

Tabular data comparing imports and exports of the Straits Settlements with West European, Middle East, Southeast Asian and Far Eastern countries.

LOCATION: S (bound with *Singapore Statement of Trade* broadsides for year 1855)

- 82 *The / Report / of the / Singapore Institution / Free Schools, / for the Year 1854-55. / [short broken rule] / Singapore: / Printed at the Mission Press. / 1855.*

[5], 6-8, [1], 10-15, [2], 18-19, [2], 22-25, [1], 27, [1], 29-32 p.

LOCATION: S



- 83      *The / Singapore / Almanack and Directory / for / the Year 1855. / Containing / Government, Various Departments, / Merchants, Trades & Professions, / etc. etc. etc., at / Singapore. / [short wavy rule] / Compiled and arranged by R.C.W. / [short wavy rule] / Singapore; / Printed for the Proprietor, by Robert Parkinson, / at the Straits Times Press. / [short rule] / MDCCCLV.*

[5], 4-76, [20] p. The first two unnumbered pages following page 76 consist of folds containing a mail schedule and trade statistics. The unnumbered pages following the folds contain commercial advertisements. Yellow printed paper wrappers, text of wrapper title enclosed in ornamental border, same as title page.

LOCATION: S

- 84      *Singapore Statement of Trade. / From 11th January to 10th February 1855, inclusive. / [Compiled from official documents.] / [brackets are in source] [short rule] / Imports from Great Britain. — Quantities. / Printed & Published by Jacob Baptist, at the Free Press Office, Battery-Road, Singapore. [1855]*

Broadside 19½ × 12 inches. Printed one side only.

Copies for February-March, March-April, April-May, May-June, June-July, July-August, August-September, September-October, October-November, and November-December, 1855 are in the National Library. All are broadsides printed at the *Free Press*, alike in format and size to the January-February broadside described above.

LOCATION: S

## 1856

- 85      *The / Report / of the / Singapore Institution / Free / Schools / For the Years 1855-56. / [short, wavy rule] / Singapore: / Printed at the Straits Times Press by G. M. Frederick. / 1856.*

[5], 2-5, [2], 8-9, [2], 12-16, [2], 18, [1], 19-29 p. P. [17] is a fold with verso blank as is p. 18. Yellow printed paper wrappers, text of wrapper title enclosed in triple rule border, same as title page.

LOCATION: S (2 copies, one wanting wrappers)

- 86      *Singapore Statement of Trade. / From 16th December 1855 to 15 January, 1856, inclusive. / [Compiled from official documents.] / [brackets are in source] [short rule] / Imports from Great Britain. — Quantities. [Singapore, 1856]*

Broadside 19½ × 11½ inches. Printed one side only. The *Free Press* imprint was inadvertently omitted from this broadside but it was indubitably printed there.

Copies for January-February, February-March, March-April, April-May, May-June, June-July, July-August, August-September, September-October, October-November and November-December, 1856 are located in the National Library. All are broadsides printed at the *Free Press*, alike in format and size to the December-January broadside described above.

LOCATION: S



1857

- 87 / بهوا این / کتاب سمہیغ یفدفاکی دالم مجلس اورغ کریستیان دان عادت بمہاکی سکومن ۲ / دان / لاین ۲ روکن عادت ۲ دالم کریجا / منورۃ عادت ۲ کریجا نکری اغکلن دان ایرلن / دغن چارا عادت ۲ مموت دان مفاورکن دان / مققدسکن بسق ۲ قدری ۲ دان دیکن ۲ / ترچف دباتو دالم نکری سیفاورا داتس بوکیت زیون / 1857.

[Translation:] *Christian Ceremonies / The customary practice of the Church / and other religious functions / in accordance to the Church of England and Ireland / for the use of Ministers and Bishops. / Printed in Singapore at Zion Hill / in 1857.*

[392] unnumbered pages. Title page and text of all pages enclosed in thick-thin ruled border. Printed on laid paper stock with no visible watermarks.

This is a translation of the *Book of Common Prayer* into Malay.

LOCATION: S (2 copies)

- 88 BRADDELL, THOMAS, *compiler*

*The / General Municipal / and / Straits Municipal / Acts / Nos. XXV and XXVII of 1857. / [short rule] / With / A full Analytical Index. / by / Thomas Braddell Esq. / Magistrate of Prince of Wales' Island. [short rule] / Pinang: / Printed by Matthew Gregory Sr., at the Pinang Gazette Office. / 1857.*

[1], 2-28 p. Wrapper title only. The wrapper is yellow paper stock.

LOCATION: S (bound in Volume 6 of "Books published in the Straits Settlements," PPO Section)

- 89 *The / Report / of the / Singapore Institution / Free Schools / For the Year 1856-57. [short wavy rule] / Singapore: / Printed at the Straits Times Press by G. M. Frederick. / 1857.*

[3], 2-4, [2], 7-8, [1], 10-15, [1], 17-22, [2], ii-iii [2], ii p. P. 17 is a folded insert with verso blank; verso of p. 22 blank. The last leaf is an appendix no. 106; the verso is numbered ii. Green printed paper wrappers, text of wrapper title enclosed in a triple rule border, same as title page.

LOCATION: S (2 copies, one wanting wrappers, and appendix no. 106)

- 90 *Singapore Statement of Trade. / From 16 December, to 15th January 1857, inclusive. / [Compiled from official documents.] / [brackets are in source] [short rule] / Imports from Great Britain. — Quantities. / Printed and Published by Jacob Baptist, at the Singapore Free Press. [1857]*

Broadside 19½ × 11½ inches. Printed one side only.

Copies for January-February, February-March, March-April, April-May, May-June, June-July, July-August, August-September, September-October, October-November and November-December are in the National Library. All are broadsides printed at the *Free Press*, alike in format and size to the December-January broadside described above.

LOCATION: S



- 91 [Within a ruled border] *The / Singapore Almanack & Directory / for / the Year 1858. / [short wavy rule] / the / Government, Various Departments, / Merchants, Trades & Professions, / etc. etc. etc. / at / Singapore. / [wavy rule] / Twelfth year of publication. / [wavy rule] / Compiled and arranged by R.C.W. / [wavy rule] Singapore: / Printed for the Proprietor, by G. M. Frederick, / at the Straits Times Press. / [short rule] / MDCCCLVIII.*

[3], 4-27, [1], 29-78 p. Blue printed paper wrappers, text of wrapper title enclosed in ornamental border, same as title page.

LOCATION: S

- 92 *Singapore Statement of Trade / From 14th December to 13 January 1858 inclusive. / [Compiled from official documents.] / [brackets are in source] Imports from Great Britain. — Quantities. / Printed and Published by Jacob Baptist, at No. 2 Battery Road, Singapore [1858]*

Broadside 19½ × 11½ inches. Printed one side only.

Copies for December-February, February-March, March-April, April-May, May-June, June-July, July-August, August-September, September-October, October-November and November-December are in the National Library. All are broadsides printed at the *Free Press*, alike in format and size to the December-January broadside described above.

LOCATION: S

- 93 [Emblem] *Straits Government Gazette. / [double rule] / Published by Authority. / [wavy rule] / Vol. 1, Friday, 1st January, 1858. No. 1. / [Imprint on p. 4]: Singapore:- Printed and Published at the Mission Press, by J.F. Hanzen.*

[1], 2-4 p.

The first number was printed on East India Co. watermarked paper. Succeeding numbers were printed on wove stock of a poorer quality.

This weekly was the second officially sponsored government publication for the Straits. The first (*The Government Gazette. Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca*) was published at Penang 1828-1830.

With slight change in title, *Straits Settlements Government Gazette*, this continued publication until the Japanese invasion, February, 1942. It resumed publication April 1, 1946, as the *Colony of Singapore Government Gazette*; changed June 3, 1959 to *State of Singapore Government Gazette*; August 11, 1965 to *Singapore Government Gazette*; December 24, 1965 to *Republic of Singapore Government Gazette*, under which title it is presently published.

LOCATION: S



## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The Regulation is reprinted from the *Bombay Secretariat Records* in Anant Kakba Priolkar, *The Printing Press in India: Its Beginnings and Early Development* (Bombay, Marathi Samshodhana Mandala, 1958), pp. 131-140.
2. The only surviving file of this newspaper seems to be the incomplete one in the India Office Library, London. Unfortunately, it is lacking the first three numbers of Volume One, which might reveal more about ownership. It appears clear that the East India Company had no financial stake in the press. The University of Singapore Library has a microfilm copy of the extant file.
3. See *Prince of Wales Island Gazette*, December 29, 1810.
4. EIC, A, Vol. 1, p. 191. The preceding is a shortened method of citing as a source the manuscript records of the Government of the Straits Settlements now preserved in the National Archives, Singapore. These records consist of copies of correspondence, and occasionally memoranda written solely for the record, of the Governors of the Straits Settlements with the Directors of the East India Company in London and with the Government of India (the Governor-General or the Governor in Council) in Calcutta. The manuscripts are in bound volumes, arranged chronologically under various categories. Series A, cited above, is referred to as Penang, Singapore and Malacca Consultations, 1806-30, and consists of seventy volumes. The above reference is to Volume 1, page 191. The page numbers were added in pencil or pen long after the events described in the contents. The collection of records consists of 32 series, totalling approximately nine hundred volumes. A brief but wholly inadequate index exists in the National Archives for most of the series.
5. EIC, A, Vol. 9, pp. 40-44, 220.
6. EIC, I, Vol. 16, pp. 291-293.
7. *Prince of Wales Island Gazette*, May 20, 1815.
8. EIC, H, Vol. 4, pp. 26-27.
9. EIC, A, Vol. 26, pp. 2670; H, Vol. 12, pp. 467-68.
10. EIC, A, Vol. 56, pp. 177-189. McIntyre's position as a Company servant and simultaneously owner and publisher of a newspaper seems never to have been questioned. It may be of interest to record that an order had been issued in Bengal in December, 1825, prohibiting Company servants from being connected with newspapers or periodicals. Apparently this regulation was ignored or thought not applicable in the Penang Presidency.
11. EIC, H, Vol. 4, pp. 33-35.
12. Letter from Beighton to the London Missionary Society, January 5, 1821. A microfilm copy of Beighton's letters and reports to the London headquarters, 1819-1844, is in the University of Singapore Library, filmed from the originals in the Society archives.
13. Letter of Beighton and Dyer dated July 11, 1834, Penang to Directors of the London Missionary Society. The Trinity Theological College Library, Singapore has microfilm copies of some of the Society archives. Hereinafter cited as LMS archives.
14. Medhurst, W. H., *China: Its State and Prospects, with Especial Reference to the Spread of the Gospel: Containing Allusions to the Antiquity, Extent, Population, Civilization, Literature, and Religion of the Chinese* (London, John Snow, 1837), p. 591. Beighton to Directors, September 1835, *op. cit.*
15. [Wylie, Alexander], *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese: Giving a list of their Publications, and Obituary Notices of the Deceased. With Copious Indexes* (Shanghai, American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867), pp. 51-52.
16. Milne, William, *A Retrospect of the first ten years . . .*, p. 238. (See No. 3 in the checklist.)
17. The punch was the essential key to type-founding and along with the adjustable type-mould was the most revolutionary and significant aspect of the art of printing from movable type. While the punch and its purpose may seem simple and commonplace to students of the typographic art



in the twentieth century, it must be remembered that it was the skill of the punch cutter or engraver, working from a model letter, that in the final analysis determined the beauty of type faces. This held true until the art was largely replaced by photography and the machine in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The punch is simply a short bar of steel, on which, at one end, a letter or character is cut or engraved in relief (one punch for each letter or character in each font). When the engraving is completed, the punch is hardened by a heat process. That end of the punch containing the letter in relief is then driven ("a strike") into a soft metal, copper or brass, to make a matrix. The matrix, after being squared and rubbed, is fitted into a type-mould and a letter is cast. After cooling the letter is ejected from the mould, "dressed" and is ready for printing.

18. Medhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 566.
19. Wylie, *op. cit.*, p. IV.
20. EIC, A, Vol. 65, pp. 27-35.
21. EIC, D, Vol. 9, p. 32.
22. EIC, I, Vol. 39, pp. 196-7.
23. EIC, A, Vol. 65, pp. 30-31.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-35. Someone facile in converting nineteenth century currencies into present values may manipulate the following rates of exchange which appeared in *The Government Gazette, Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca*, January 24, 1829:
 

|                                                       |                      |
|-------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| 100 Spanish dollars                                   | = 210.8 Sicca Rupees |
| 100 Mexican, Central American, Chile and Peru dollars | = 210.8 Sicca Rupees |
| 123½ Guilders                                         | = 100 Sicca Rupees   |
| 107 Madras Rupees                                     | = 100 Sicca Rupees   |
25. EIC, I, Vol. 39, pp. 12, 126-127, 190-191, 196-197, 213.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34. Unfortunately, it was impossible to locate a file of the second *Prince of Wales Island Gazette*. A microfilm copy of the first six numbers and an extra published August 24, 1833, are in the National Library, Singapore.
27. EIC, I, Vol. 39, pp. 196-197.
28. Milne, *Retrospect* . . . , p. 140.
29. EIC, I, Vol. 18, pp. 17, 43-44, 64.
30. Wylie, *op. cit.*, p. 21-22.
31. Milne, *op. cit.*, pp. 229, 235, 240, 242.
32. *Ibid.*, 180, 272.
33. Hill, A. B., "The Hikayat Abdullah an annotated translation," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 28, Part 3, June, 1955. p. 112.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 113, 165.
35. *Ibid.*
36. Milne, *op. cit.*, 271-272.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 200.
38. EIC, A, Vol. 28, pp. 271-276, O, Vol. 1, pp. 54-55.
39. EIC, A, Vol. 66, pp. 193-194.
40. Kidd to Directors, Nov. 9, 1829. LMS Archives.
41. Milne, *op. cit.*, pp. 267-272.
42. Ince to Directors, Dec. 4, 1819. LMS Archives.
43. Medhurst, *op. cit.*, pp. 587-588, 592.
44. EIC, L, Vol. 10, pp. 68-70.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 50.



46. Milne, *op. cit.*, p. 289.
47. EIC, L, Vol. 17, pp. 40-41.
48. Thomsen to Directors, February 20, 1823. LMS Archives.
49. Milton to Directors, April 10, 1823. LMS Archives.
50. Notes of Morrison on Milton (undated but probably written in 1824). LMS Archives.
51. Letters of Milton to Directors, December 23, 1824; June 20, August 15, November 30, 1825. LMS Archives.
52. Haines, Joseph Henry, "A history of Protestant Missions in Malaya during the Nineteenth Century 1815-1881" (unpublished dissertation, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1962), p. 158. Microfilm copy in Trinity Theological College Library.
53. Medhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 591.
54. Haines, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-171.
55. Keasberry to Directors, September 15, 1839, July 2, 1849; John Stronack to Directors, August 3, 1839. LMS Archives.
56. Keasberry Annual Report to Directors, August, 1851. LMS Archives.
57. Gibson-Hill, C. A., "The Singapore Chronicle (1824-37)," *Journal of the Malayan Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, Volume XXVI, Part 1, July, 1953, pp. 175-199.
58. EIC, R, Vol. 19, pp. 3-5, 203-204.
59. Tomlin, J., *Missionary Journals and Letters, Written During Eleven Years' Residence and Travels Among the Chinese, Siamese, Javanese, Khassia and Other Eastern Nations*. (London, James Nisbet, 1844), pp. 25-26.
60. Wylie, *op. cit.*, p. 94.
61. *The Hikayat Abdullah*, *op. cit.*, p. 106.



